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OF ECONOMICS**









THE  
South Atlantic Quarterly

WILLIAM P. FEW,  
WILLIAM H. GLASSON, } EDITORS

Volume XII

JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1913

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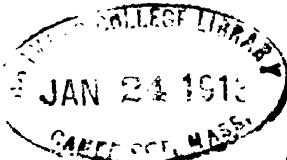
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Volume XII

Number 1

The

# South Atlantic Quarterly

EDITED BY

W. H. GLASSON AND W. P. FEW

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JANUARY, 1913

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This journal was founded in January, 1902, in order to afford better opportunity in the South for the discussion of literary, historical, economic, and social questions. It knows no sectional jealousy and aims to offer a publishing medium in which respectful consideration will be accorded to all who have some worthy contribution to make in its chosen field. The Quarterly was originally established by the "9019," a society of young men of Trinity College, but it later passed into the control of the South Atlantic Publishing Company, Incorporated. It is under the joint editorship of Dr. W. H. Glasson and Dr. W. P. Few.

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Volume XII

JANUARY, 1913

Number 1

# The South Atlantic Quarterly

## An Ethical Aspect of the New Industrialism\*

ALVIN SAUNDERS JOHNSON

Professor of Economics in Cornell University.

When Colbert, Finance Minister of Louis XIV, and one of the world's greatest statesmen, undertook to give reality to the pretensions of the French to world hegemony, his first endeavor was to infuse into the nation a new economic life. French arms and French diplomacy were renowned; French commerce and industry were characterized by inferiority in skill and taste, energy and enterprise. Colbert founded model factories and technical schools; he rewarded excellence with prizes and subsidies, honors and privileges. He sent men to Italy and Holland and Germany, and wherever else industry was carried to a high degree of perfection, to seek out capable artisans and traders who might serve as teachers and industrial leaders of the French people.

But, what to many of us may appear less intelligible, an essential part of Colbert's plan was to entice to France, through gold and flattery, architects and painters, poets and philosophers. He provided funds to enable students in arts and letters to serve their apprenticeship in Italy, Holland, or Germany; he established pensions for poets and savants; he founded theatres and scientific societies. He was a parsimonious financier, eager to restore fiscal soundness after generations of public waste; yet he proceeded to the expenditure of vast sums for the erection of the architectural monuments through which the reign of Louis gained its character of magnificence.

Colbert was not himself a poet, an artist, or a philosopher. He was not even an amateur in art, a self-conscious patron of the muses. There is abundant record of artists and poets whom he subsidized and pensioned; there is no record of artists or poets with whom he lived in intimate friendship. He was a tradesman,

\*An address before the chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa society at Stanford University, California, May 18, 1912. Published by permission of the chapter.

the son of a tradesman. He began his career as a draper's apprentice; his later youth was devoted to the practice of banking, his early manhood was given over to incessant clerical labors in administrative bureaus. His ideals were frankly commercial; he wished to enrich France through trade and industry. And if he encouraged what we commonly consider the non-commercial forms of human activity, it was because he saw an intimate connection between them and industrial success. In Italy, in the Low Countries, in Germany, culture and industry flourished or languished together. Colbert set for himself the task of making art and industry flourish together in France.

To our modern way of thinking there is something self-contradictory in the policy of Colbert. The arts and sciences, poetry and philosophy, seem to us to make up a field governed by laws essentially antagonistic to those which prevail in the great field of practical endeavor. It is widely believed that commercial and industrial progress tends steadily to encroach upon the field of disinterested and idealistic activities. It is even prophesied that the whole of human life will, sooner or later, assume the color of commercialism: that the artist will no longer paint the thing as he sees it, but will paint it as it will pay; that the poet will construct his visions, the philosopher his systems, with eyes fixed upon exchange value possibilities; that the scientist will abandon his free search for truth and become a mercenary in the service of wealth production. Some of our thinkers, inclined toward optimism, regard commercialism and its attendant accumulations as a basis upon which a cultural structure may be reared, a fund whereby a noble extravagance may be maintained. Not that such a structure of higher values will necessarily be created; it is admitted that the whole commercial process may end in something no more worth while than the gross hedonism of Carthage or Tyre.

It is my present purpose to show that Colbert's policy was right and that our modern way of conceiving the relations of art and industry is wrong. We observe about us a commercialized industry, vigorous and powerful, apparently self-sufficing, confident of its ability to govern the future. Money values alone, we conceive, control its evolution. Analysis will show, however, that much of the power of commercialism is the product of transitory historical conditions, and must pass away. A completely

commercialized industry is a mechanism, not an organic growth; it derives its appearance of vitality, not from an inherent creative force, but an antecedent accumulation of energy, which must, in the end, be exhausted. The crises, economic and social, that afflict the modern nations are signs of the end of an old era of unduly extended commercial dominance, and of the beginning of a new era in which the disinterested and the practical activities of man will develop together, in equal honor. It is time that philosophy and poetry and painting should descend from their niches as traditional values and take their place alongside of industry in the everyday service of man. For the industry of the future must evolve through its own inherent powers; and among the powers essential to its evolution, as we shall see, are the moral and aesthetic values which it is the function of the arts and philosophy to create.

In the greater part of social history, the course of industry was relatively independent of that of trade. What industry produced, according to its own laws, was taken over unchanged by trade. The trader, according to the art of his calling, endeavored to buy cheap and sell dear. The products of industry merely passed through his hands; if they were good, he was pleased, so they were not too dear; if they were shoddy, he was equally pleased, so they were cheap enough. His concern was solely with exchange values, or rather, with the margin between values which constituted his profits. Industry, on the other hand, concerned itself primarily with the quality of things and their uses. The artisan labored to attain a standard of workmanship—a standard created through the joint efforts of his co-workers and his predecessors in the craft, inspired by sympathetic reflection upon the needs and the personal worth of the user. If the product was designed for the ordinary man, the standard evolved toward the level of the ordinary man's needs; if it was designed for the use of a man exalted in social esteem—high priest or king—the standard evolved toward a corresponding perfection. The artisan sought to make a perfect robe for the king, not because the king would pay for it royally, but because the king would wear it royally. The perfection of the Damascus blade was the measure of the honor in which the swordsmith held knight and caliph.

Uncommercialized industry was governed by values, but these values differed wholly from those governing trade. In a sense they were created by the artisan himself through reflection upon the user's need, and through acceptance of his worth. But in a larger sense, the standards were created by society itself: by the common thought and action of all who shared in building up the greatness of a state. Were a king great and greatly honored, were dignities multiplied and accepted with loyalty, the skill of the artisan improved; there were values adequate to inspire his work. Were a king weak and his retainers venal and base, social values decayed and workmanship degenerated—not because the depreciated dignitaries were unable to pay, but because they were incapable of inspiring.

I have accentuated the freedom of uncommercialized industry from exchange value considerations. Such considerations do, of course, arise; but under a peculiar form. All through early industry—and indeed, through much of the industry of today—runs the standard of the fair price, of the just wage. Fair prices, just wages, assured the artisan a living that accorded with his personal worth and social status. The laborer was worthy of his hire, not in the sense that his wages represented a value equal to his economic contribution, but in the sense that they corresponded with his social worth. To merchandise with his labor, selling cheap or dear according to circumstances, was to submit to personal degradation. Prices and incomes, like the skill of the artisan and the quality of his products, were governed by values in the creation of which much of society unconsciously co-operated. The charcoal burner accepted a meagre living because his work was despised; the goldsmith could demand good fare and fine raiment because his work was held in honor. Defects in the system there were, no doubt; but it was compatible with economic harmony, and it permitted the artisan to ignore prices, and devote his whole thought to the creation of products and the improvement of standards of workmanship. Much more of the system survives than is generally believed; most differences in wages are partly explainable by it. The best workmen of today demand nothing more than reasonable wages, easily definable in social value terms; they desire nothing better than freedom from active concern with wages and prices, leisure to devote themselves to their proper work.

But industry today is largely dominated by the commercial ideal. Where the process of commercialization is complete the producer gives little thought to the consumer's needs; his chief concern is to forecast the consumer's wants and whims, in order to exploit them for purposes of profit. Production of the best is a principle which is ever on his lips; it animates his advertising imagination. Production of the most profitable is the principle which actually governs his conduct. To incorporate in a product qualities that are inconspicuous, but that will eventually profit the user, is regarded as folly. To cheapen the quality of a product in a manner not easily perceived is good business. In uncommercialized industry, improvements are made by the producer, and the user is gradually educated to their need. In purely commercialized industry the standard must be set by the consumer, and enforced to the best of his ability—he is indeed fortunate if he is not outwitted. In Western Europe, four hundred years ago, inspection of quality was carried on by the crafts themselves, and drastic were the penalties meted out to those who failed to maintain the standards, however slight the defect. Today such inspection as we have is imposed upon industry by officials in the service of the consumer, and mighty must be the abuse that is detected and punished.

Uncommercialized industry is, then, governed by standards which the producer establishes for himself and seeks persistently to realize. Commercialized industry is governed by specifications, established by the consumer, which the producer seeks cautiously to evade. The Damascus blade had qualities superior to the best a knight could imagine; the swordsmith realized the vital importance of his handiwork in time of crisis and made it his ambition that the sword should not fail the user. The steel rail of today has such qualities as the buyer specifies; or perhaps qualities differing from specification only in a manner imperceptible to the official inspector or to the buying agent of the railway. Does the maker of the steel rail reflect upon the endless stream of wealth and human life that will be borne by his product; upon the ultimate consequences that may flow from the most minute defects? Possibly; but rails are breaking every day.

The influence of commercialism in industry does not stop with the product; it enters into the increasingly complex relations

among those who co-operate in production. The trader's ideal of maximum gain has taken the place of the industrial ideal of a fair price and a just wage. There was a time when the saying "The worth of a thing is what it will fetch," was regarded as a brutal cynicism of the same order as the saying "Every man has his price." Today the former of these sayings has become a truism. In industry as in trade, we seek to buy cheap and sell dear; to give as little as possible and to get as much as we can. One result has been the progress of adulteration and qualitative deterioration. But there is another result that is more serious. The man who has nothing to sell but his labor accepts the principle: to give as little as possible and to demand as much as he can get. The buyer of labor, too, must erect specifications to take the place of the self-imposed standards that have fallen. Piece rates, task systems, pace-setting laborers, and pace-setting machines—all methods of setting specifications for the day's work—are tried, with mediocre success. Labor, as a merchandise, is subject to indefinite deterioration. Importation of laborers not yet commercialized may delay deterioration; the progress of the mechanical improvements may conceal it; but there is no force in commercialism itself that can permanently check it.

And, as the quality of the workman's performance tends downward, his claims for reward tend upward. He has, under commercialism, a right to what he can get. The measure of his power to acquire is his power to inflict social injury—a power which increases steadily with the decades. In sum, purely commercialized industry offers no permanent guaranty of either harmony or progress.

If we inquire of history what it is that has enabled commercialism to fasten itself upon industry, to the perversion of the latter's essential nature, we receive as our first response: Foreign trade, especially with peoples of an inferior or a dissimilar civilization. The Italian merchants, prowling around the camps of the Crusaders, first discovered the secret of producing in quantity cheap stuffs for trade with unsophisticated peoples. The crafts of Spain and Portugal decayed under the influence of imperialistic exploitation and imperialistic trade. The Low Countries commercialized their industries under the demands of the East Indies. In the 19th century all the ports of all the seas invited the British

to mass production of the cheapest articles that would sell. By a similar process the arts and crafts of Japan, the textiles of the Near East, are degenerating under Western demand. The original sympathetic relation between producer and consumer is destroyed by geographic remoteness and cultural dissimilarity. The producer for distant trades has nothing but exchange values to guide him in his work and to control its quality.

Scarcely less potent in its influence upon industry has been the unlocking of vast stores of new productive power through the progress of discovery and invention; the exploitation of the mines and forests and virgin lands of the Americas, especially; the conquest of mechanical power through applied science. The lure of easily acquired wealth, represented by these resources, has drawn away much of the best talent from the orderly development of industry; it has emphasized exchange values to the prejudice of more permanent social values. The directing of the progress of qualitative improvement in production, passing from the hands of the producer himself, has become the prerogative of a consumer newly enriched, several generations short of connoisseurship.

Imperialistic trade and the seizure and exploitation of newly discovered economic resources are, then, the two great forces to which we must ascribe the subordination of industry to the trading motive; the substitution of consumer's requirements, most often inexpert, for the self-imposed standards of the producer; the introduction of the principle of maximum gain in the place of the old standards of fair prices and just wages. These forces have vastly increased the wealth and physical productive power at man's command; they have raised the average of material comfort; they have sharpened men's wits and broadened men's intelligence. But these same forces have also caused men to lose their pleasure in the performance of work and to fix their attention chiefly upon the rewards to be gained by it. As a consequence, price struggles between industries, conflict between those who direct work and those who execute it, appear to be the natural law of economic life. Where material progress is sufficiently rapid to yield a steady increase in the fund of wealth to be distributed, where the industrial habits of an earlier order still retain some power over the action of those involved in economic

strife, a *modus vivendi* is attained without great difficulty. But let the process of expansion reach its limit, let all the industrial classes accept frankly the principles of commercialism, and the economic equilibrium becomes indeed unstable, the outcome of a disturbance unpredictable.

The process of expansion and exploitation has nearly run its course. The inferior civilizations are rapidly rising to the world level; their scales of value are coming to be the same as our scales. The richest harvests of imperialistic trade have already been reaped. It is no longer possible to find peoples whom we can wheedle into parting with their wealth in exchange for beads and colored cloths. Two hundred years ago every nation saw the gains to be had from colonial trade, and was willing to fight for them. No wisely governed nation will fight for colonial trade now; it is not worth the cost. The empty lands have, for the most part, been overrun; the gold appropriated, the forests culled, the virgin lands skimmed of their fertility. The revolutionary advances in industry through the application of mechanical power lie in the past. And, as the limits of exploitation draw near, the number of exploiters increases; no single petty nation, as in the past, but all the great powers prepare to participate in the commercialization of China. We accelerate our progress toward the point in history where free wealth is no longer to be had for the taking.

Industrialism is entering upon a new phase. The economic progress of the future will consist in myriad minor improvements throughout the industrial system, not in revolutionary advances at isolated points. The wheat supply of the world will increase through the slow process of developing the plant and improving the soil, not through the rapid process of the annexation of new empires of virgin territory. Mechanical power will be cheapened through devices designed to save fuel, not through more ruthlessly effective methods of depleting the sources of power. The performance of labor will be increased, not through attraction of laborers from old lands to new, from country to city, but through the gradual improvement of the powers latent in the existing labor supply. The industrialism of the future must depend upon its own inherent powers for further progress.

It must be obvious that the industrial evolution of the new era is to be analogous with that which first created the arts and

crafts. It was the feeling of his responsibility to the user of his products that enabled the mediaeval producer to establish standards and acquire skill; it was this feeling of responsibility that made work worth doing and a life of labor worth living. It is upon a restoration of this feeling of responsibility that the industrial progress of the future will depend. But the conditions underlying the development of responsibility in the future cannot be the same as those that obtained in the past. As I have already indicated, early industrial standards were closely bound up with the aristocratic constitution of society. Whatever the faults of kings and priests and nobles, their presence in society played an extremely important part in stimulating industrial progress. Not by virtue of their ability to pay, but by virtue of the social worth they embodied. And here we touch upon the industrial service rendered by the architect, the sculptor, the poet. They idealized the men of might; they gave concrete expression to the popular feeling of respect and loyalty, and thus endowed it with potency. So the Iliad, creating the social value of king and hero, contributed to the creation of Greek craftsmanship.

But the kings have perished, and with them the nobles and all other personal dignitaries. Subjected to the test of cash payment they were found wanting. The millionaire has usurped their place of power, but not of social worth. There remain men for whom it pays to work. Indeed the pay never was better. But none remain for whom it is a distinguished honor to work. Yet it is honor alone that will inspire in the workman the single ambition to do his best work.

The aristocracies have vanished, we shall never know them again. The work of supplying the world, now and for the future, has become one of such complexity, requiring so broad a diffusion of general intelligence, that merely personal dignitaries can never again acquire their ancient influence over man's mind, their ancient hold on his conduct. There remains in the world only the common man. Differences in natural endowment, in culture and in wealth persist; but these can not alter the fact of a fundamental democracy. So far as we serve, we serve the common man.

But—and this we must fix in our minds—the common man of today is not the obscure citizen of earlier epochs. The same com-

mercial process which has broken down the earlier class organization has produced a differentiation in economic structure, an interdependence of parts, which compels us to conceive of economic society as a living organism. The common man of today compares with his prototype of yesterday as the cell in an organized tissue compares with the cell in the half-coherent mass of protoplasm. The functions of the individual are now organic functions, far transcending the narrow confines of his own personality. The pilot, the engineer, the steel worker, the coal-hewer, are significant, not in themselves, but in the social work they perform. With the progress of time, a constantly increasing share of the population assumes functions essentially social.

In serving the common man, then, we are performing a work far more worth while than that of supplying the needs of an individual, of whatever personal worth. We are serving a social functionary—in the last analysis, society itself. Our work, then, is significant or meaningless according as we conceive society itself as worthy or not. If we are constrained to think of our society as ninety million persons, chiefly knaves and fools, the service will be irksome, to be shirked, if possible. If the society we serve is full of brutality and injustice, disfigured with poverty and ignorance, corrupted with cynicism and self-indulgence, it can not inspire us with loyalty in its service. The exhausting toil of the long day, the hopeless misery of the sweatshop, the sordid depravity of the slum, can not much longer cumber the earth if society is to command the best efforts of its servitors. We are not now concerned with the question of justice to those who live and toil in wretchedness. That question is worth considering in its proper place; it is sufficient here to indicate that, for the orderly progress of industry in the coming era, we must remove conditions that destroy our faith in society. Men in the service of society will give their best efforts only if society is worth serving.

But it is not sufficient that society should be worth serving; the worth of society and the worth of work in its service must be given concrete expression if these values are to mold men's conduct. Today these values are perceived, but dimly; they exercise an influence in limited fields. Men in the service of the railways, as a rule, endeavor honestly to realize the ideal of continuous and adequate service. Coal miners are loath to strike at the opening of winter. Their social function plays a part—though unfortu-

nately a minor part—in controlling their economic policy. As a rule, however, the servants of society, employers and employees alike, regard any peculiar dependence of society upon their services as an element strengthening their bargaining position, a peculiar opportunity for gain. The wheat is falling from the head; the fruit is rotting on the tree: an excellent time for a concerted demand for higher wages! An industrial city has been built upon the expectation of the continuous supply of material: what an opportunity for the material producers to levy tribute! A whole nation lives from day to day upon the fruits of its mechanical industries; coal is its bread. A dazzling prospect of gain lies before those who can possess themselves of the mastery of the mines. Responsibility of function is opportunity for gain; so prevalent is this conception that when we assert that the use of responsibility for gain, not for service, is a species of treason, we seem to be harking back to the middle ages. And so we are. But there is much in the mediaeval industrial spirit that is eternal: much that must be restored to our society after the disorders of an era of expansion and exploitation.

The worth of society and of work in its service—these are the social values that must govern in the new industrialism. As mere abstract ideas they can have no potency. As abstract ideas the kings and nobles of an earlier age had no potency; they were invested with the power of social values by the work of architects and sculptors, poets and philosophers. The poets, as it were, created kings and knights—ideals toward which actual rulers and nobles sought to elevate themselves. Architects and sculptors, painters and poets, can transform social man and society into values capable of dominating industry. The task may be difficult; but it is no more difficult than that of vesting glory in the House of Atreus or the House of Bourbon.

The ultimate need of the new industrialism, then, is not more trained skill, more applied science—although these too are good things in their way—but artists and poets who shall translate society and social man into terms of values worth serving. When these have done their work, we shall hear less of the deterioration of labor and the abuse of responsibility, of industrial decay and social corruption, of irreconcilable conflict and threatened revolution. A revolution will have been accomplished: a revolution in ideals and in values.

## Slidell's Mission to Mexico

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS

University of Chicago

Our own times have witnessed so remarkable a growth of the imperialistic ideal that the story of our swift conquest of a continent is of lively present interest. In that amazing development which has extended the American flag from Porto Rico to the Philippines, from Panama to Alaska, few more significant steps have been taken than the incorporation of Texas and the guiding of our southern boundary to the Pacific. Yet few periods in American history are more misunderstood. Historians, largely dominated by New England thought which saw nothing but evil in any project that would extend the slave power, have cast a slur upon the entire movement to annex Texas. And the public conscience, highly sensitive to criticism, and priding itself on the integrity of its foreign relations, has yielded to their view. Just as an Englishman inclines to blush when he considers the execution of King Charles, so the average American regrets the Mexican War. A nation that boasts that it obtained Louisiana, and Florida, and Alaska, by purchase, and that it acquired Porto Rico and the Philippines while fighting in the glorious cause of human liberty, has been taught to look upon the Mexican War as unworthy of the American people, an undignified squabble for land. This sentiment, though based on error, is natural to a proud and high-minded people. It has been reflected in and perpetuated by literature, so that our children, in learning a provincial, anti-slavery interpretation of the Mexican War, are losing its significance as an honorable step in a progress which was inevitable and glorious, vital to the very existence of the republic.

The present paper attempts to show the true condition of our Mexican relations from the autumn of 1845 until the outbreak of the war. It contends that our diplomacy during that period was not a half-hearted blind to conceal active preparations for war, nor a ceremonial slavery to etiquette, but a serious, manful endeavor to achieve great ends by liberal means.\*

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\*The investigation was inspired by Professor Dodd, of the University of Chicago, who directed a seminar on "The South and the War with Mexico" in the early months of 1912.

In the autumn of 1845, President Polk had determined to give Mexico one last day of grace. Since Jackson's time, conditions to the South of us had gone from bad to worse, until in face of our determination to annex Texas, diplomatic relations had ceased. Yet American expansion, the slavery question, the very peace of the Union hinged on a successful renewal of these relations.

Polk, an outspoken imperialist, led a divided country. If his Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, urged the annexation of Texas and a vast extension of slavery at the southwest, John Quincy Adams and New England as stoutly opposed; nor were the great numbers of conservatives of the Buchanan type committed to any definite policy of expansion. Through peaceful measures only, could Polk guide a united following and offer the minimum of target to his enemies. Hence his plan to solve the Texas problem and to acquire Mexican lands without resort to arms.

A solution offered itself in the American claims against Mexico which a Board of Arbitration had estimated at \$2,026,139.68 and on which only three instalments had been paid. What more providential arrangement than to take payment in land for the heavy arrears and, if need be, to add a liberal bonus to smooth the path of diplomacy and to quiet the consciences of statesmen.

Mexico had withdrawn her ambassador on March 7, 1845, and international courtesy would have demanded that she take the first steps in any renewal of diplomatic relations. But Polk was willing to waive all ceremony. A great power could take the initiative gracefully, and peace was essential to his programme. He had always favored the annexation of Texas; he had cast longing eyes upon Northern Mexico; but by 1845 the fear of the "slave power" had become too keen an issue at the North to hazard an unnecessary war upon its account. Polk's policy, then, demanded a renewal of peaceful negotiations, but such a mission as would accomplish the full measure of Polk's aims would require delicate handling. Mexico must see the light. She must learn, what nine years of guerrilla fighting had failed to teach her, that Texas was no longer hers. She must learn the value of money and the wisdom of paying her debts. She must sell her lands to raise this money. Hardest of all for a proud people, she must learn to pocket her pride.

Our consul at the Mexican capital prepared the way, and Mexico agreed to receive as envoy "*one commissioned with full power to settle the dispute in a peaceful, reasonable, and honorable manner.*" John Slidell, a shrewd and able politician of Louisiana, was chosen for the post, an honor the greater by as much as the difficulties were understood in advance. Victory would mean glory; failure would involve no disgrace. The man and the hour had come.

The two issues which Slidell had to settle were the annexation of Texas, and the settlement of our Mexican claims. The great cause of Texan annexation had been before the American people since Calhoun first advocated it in 1836. But it had been allowed to lapse until the famous Gilmer letter of January 10, 1843, had pleaded for immediate action before the growing influence of Great Britain should bring about abolition. This letter raised such a storm of protest in New England that the report of March 3, 1843, signed by Adams and fifteen other members of Congress, went so far as to foretell that the North would not submit to a violation of the "national compact" and that that section would prefer a dissolution of the Union instead. Walker's masterful counterplea of January 8, 1844, reënforced the Monroe doctrine with a warning that Texas in unfriendly hands was too near New Orleans. Walker painted a glowing picture of Texas as a market for northern goods, a field for southern enterprise, a solution for the negro problem, and from its logical unity with the great Mississippi valley, a necessary safeguard to the Oregon trail, in fact, as General Jackson had viewed it, a military necessity! Texas, he contended, was free by the same right of revolution which had established Mexico, and failure to annex her would ultimately mean British control of Texas as well as of a new league including our southern and southwestern states. The strong element of truth in Walker's picture won many to the cause, but even so, the "joint resolutions"\*\* on Texan annexation, were carried only by the slenderest possible margin, 27 to 25. Texan annexation was, then, a fact. It was to be Slidell's task to interpret this fact to the very slow perceptions of Mexico.

The Mexicans having once mastered the idea that Texas was no longer theirs, would next have to learn its new boundary.†

\* February 27th, 1845.

† Taylor had orders to advance to the Rio Grande as a boundary. *Exec. Doc. 29th Cong. 1st Sess. No. 196, pp. 70-71.*

And it would be at this point that the American claims would arise as convenient leverage for securing a liberal interpretation of this boundary. In fact, Polk named their settlement as an indispensable object of the Slidell mission. "I could not, for a moment, entertain the idea that the claims of our much injured and long suffering citizens, . . . should be postponed, or separated, from the settlement of the boundary question."

There was, therefore, a complicated background of slavery extension, Westward expansion, Anglophobia, Mexican irritation, and armed intervention into the foreground of which Slidell was to pass in his mission of peace. The situation was undoubtedly a delicate one, but historical fairness forbids us to read into Polk's policy a deliberate intention to provoke a war with a weaker power under the hypocritical mask of a desire for peace.

Polk's somewhat jaunty talk about paying huge sums to Mexico for ceded territory, while it betrays gross ignorance of the Spanish character, ought to acquit him of a malicious determination for war on any pretext. There is unimpeachable evidence, moreover, that he desired Slidell to be received, and the negotiations to progress, though the degree of his actual faith in the mission and in the ends to be achieved is a matter of conjecture. Many of Polk's instructions were oral; many of his projects were not confided even to his journal; and Slidell, though "obliged to make an exception in favor of Mrs. S——", was pledged to secrecy. Neither Polk nor Slidell could feel entirely sanguine, yet Slidell entered upon the mission confident that Mexico "desired to settle amicably all the questions in dispute between us. . . ."

Did not manifest destiny point to a continental empire from ocean to ocean? Would not Providence, which had done so much for us, round out its labors? Was not Texas necessary to our national life, if we were to be free from British or French aggression? Surely there was ground for hope that these desirable ends could be attained by peaceful means. But whatever real confidence Slidell and the administration felt must have been due to a belief that Mexico would see the need of making the best of things. And to help her in this, they were ready to be liberal. If hope blinded them to some of the difficulties, it was only natural.

These obstacles inevitably loomed most clear in the minds of

the opposition. Thus the Reverend Dr. Ellis\* held that no Mexican government could survive which would voluntarily surrender Texas. War only could attain that object, and this would precipitate European intervention—"our possession under any circumstances, must be a possession secured by force." But the ability of a New England opposition to see a mote in its brother's eye does not justify the imputation of base motives to Polk or his government. The hopeless confusion of Mexican affairs was not a temporary aberration. It was chronic. Though many of our Mexican claims were doubtless absurd, others were thoroughly valid, and these had been all too long in abeyance. Self-respect demanded action. Nor could this be deferred to the idle dream that Mexico, unhampered, might recover her power in the North. The loss of Tamaulipas was far more probable than the recovery of Texas.

The final steps toward dispatching the mission were not taken until Polk had used all possible means to sound Mexican sentiment and to be assured of a welcome for the commissioner. Preliminary negotiations were conducted through Mr. Black, the consul at Mexico, but other agents were also used, and reports from Commodore Conner, of the Squadron in the Gulf of Mexico, and Dr. Parrott, our Confidential Agent at Mexico, confirmed Polk in a belief that "the Government of Mexico were willing . . . to receive a minister from the United States," and "anxious to settle the pending difficulties between the two countries, including those of boundary." Assuredly Polk did not enter blindly upon the fruitless embassy. He had made careful soundings. With a clearness of vision unusual in American Presidents, he defined his aim. With a precision of action rare in diplomacy, he sought it. Slidell and his mission were a step towards its fulfillment. If successful, so much the better; if a failure, there were at hand other means, less desirable, perhaps, but more certain.

The instructions finally given to Slidell are so easily accessible that only a synopsis is necessary. As already indicated, they covered two principal points, the recognition of the annexation of Texas with a settlement of its boundary; and the final adjudication of our claims against Mexico. But bound up with both

\* Letters upon the annexation of Texas addressed to Hon. John Quincy Adams, 1845. Ellis was an eminent Unitarian divine, pastor of the Harvard Church in Charlestown, Massachusetts. The letters, fifteen in number, extend from December 19th, 1844, to March 15th, 1845.

was a vast scheme of empire to carry the southern boundary of the United States to the Pacific. For this last, Polk was willing to pay a great price in proportion as the boundary was more or less satisfactory to the administration. Starting from the independence of Texas as "a settled fact, and not to be called into question", Slidell was ordered to uphold the Rio Grande as the established boundary, and in compensation to assume payment of our claims. But for actual cessions of Mexican territory, a sliding scale of prices was authorized.

For such a line as would include New Mexico and thus "obviate the danger of future collisions", the claims would be cancelled and a bonus of five millions would be paid. For the grander scheme of a cession of California, "money would be no object compared with the value of the acquisition." Its amount would vary with the line determined upon. Twenty-five millions would be none too much for a line "from the southern extremity of New Mexico to the Pacific Ocean,—which would embrace Monterey within our limits"; twenty millions, for a similar line "so as to include the bay and harbor of San Francisco"—"of course when I speak of any point on the western boundary of New Mexico, it is understood that from the Del Norte to that point our boundary shall run according to the first offer which you have been authorized to make." Finally, Slidell was bidden to conclude a treaty even if it should include only one of the specific objects of his mission.

The objection may arise that the whole scheme was to be a trade on Mexico's poverty; that to accept land in place of gold, and to soothe the American pride of conscience by giving American dollars for more land than could properly be seized under any pretext of foreclosure, was a Machiavellian contrivance to spread the eagle and slavery over a wider compass. But that would involve a preconceived notion that Polk and his policies were inherently depraved; that the "interests" were a unit for land grabbing—a not easily tenable position in view of powerful opposition from New England and the North; and that the idea of National Destiny which animated so many minds was a mere slogan, foisted by interested persons upon a gullible public. The cynic, too, may smile at a kindness which would absorb New Mexico so that there might be no occasion to ask for it again.

But in his California policy, at least, no question exists of Polk's sincerity. Vigorous action was so essential at a time when our Pacific expansion at the North was in jeopardy, that his California project must count as at least one point in proof of Polk's desire that the mission succeed. Moreover, while it is puzzling to see how a constitutional President could have the assurance to propose it on his own responsibility, the very heavy payment which the minister was instructed to offer for California, is an indubitable evidence of Polk's anxiety for a peaceful settlement. The maximum offer of twenty-five millions was immense in comparison with what had been paid for Louisiana or Florida. And it is against all reason to imagine that Polk's offer of money was intended as a sting to Mexican pride which would goad that country into war. His worst detractors have not accused Polk of stupidity. On the contrary, his strong sagacity would warn him that from a merely political point of view the peaceful and lawful purchase of the West would be far preferable to a war of conquest waged in opposition to northern sentiment\* and to the entire Adams influence. In view of the sharp political opposition to any extension of slave territory, and considering the nature of instructions which authorized a treaty even if only a single object would be achieved, and which imposed a studious deference to Mexican pride, the present writer can see no possible ground for assuming a secret desire for war. The plan, instead, seems a masterful solution for Polk's difficulties, much gain, no war, and an opposition silenced.

Armed with these instructions, Slidell entered upon his mission, one of the most delicate in the history of American diplomacy. It was his task to persuade the bankrupt and tottering government of a proud people that, because of its poverty, it must clutch at any straw to pay its debts. It would have taxed the ingenuity of Mephistopheles to show this moribund machine a method of yielding to American demands while yet pampering Mexican pride into a belief that loss of territory was consistent with national honor.

Slidell was foredoomed to failure by the inherent impossibility of inducing an impossible government to accept an impossibility. In short, Mexican politicians were too weak to face the realities

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\* Not so strong as imagined, however.

of things. To yield to Polk's demands would have meant revolution and overthrow at the hands of a people blind to facts as old even as the Texan Revolution of 1836. To resist those demands might even secure a temporary popularity. Caught between the devil and the deep sea, the Mexican government felt it better to conciliate the deep sea, and let the rather more distant devil look after his own. The entire conduct of the Mexican government in refusing to recognize Slidell shows how a weak and corrupt machine, daily facing overthrow, toyed and trifled over issues of life and death for the very nation, for there is no longer room to doubt that on the fate of Slidell's mission depended the existence of Mexico as an independent nationality.

Preliminary to Slidell's arrival, we tried to conciliate Mexico by withdrawing our fleet from the waters of Vera Cruz. The Mexican foreign secretary, Pena y Pena had urged this as a proof of our sincerity, and the government at Washington had yielded, confiding in Black's opinion that the negotiation would progress, as it had the sanction of the Mexican Congress in secret session. The path was therefore supposedly clear when Slidell quietly departed for Mexico in late November of 1845, his movements being known only to the State Department, but no sooner had he reached Vera Cruz than he was urged not to disembark. Pena y Pena declared he had not been expected until January, and that so critical was the condition of affairs in the capital that his appearance there would defeat the whole affair. Worse still, to shift responsibility, the Secretary submitted to the Council of Government the final decision as to Slidell's reception. This council was a remarkable body, representing, in fact, wheels within wheels, the inner sovereignty of the nation. It voiced the will of the Archbishop of Mexico\* and could be counted on for definite opposition to the heretics from over the border. To submit the question of receiving Slidell to such a body was, therefore, a distinct breach of faith. It could give only one decision.

Pena y Pena's formal and unqualified refusal to treat with Slidell was not delivered until December 21, 1845. It was based largely on a quibble that his credentials were those of "a minister to reside near the Government of Mexico" as in ordinary circumstances, whereas, Mexico had assented only to a special mission "confined to the differences in relation to the Texas ques-

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\* See Polk's *Diary*, I, p. 229, for political importance of the Archbishop.

tion." He assured Slidell that "the government itself was disposed to arrange all differences", but that the situation was so critical as to demand great caution and circumspection. Would the Mexican have dared such a subterfuge had Slidell left the United States in a public way, and with the American people in full knowledge of the preliminary arrangements for his reception? Was not Polk's anxiety for secrecy from the vigilance of England and France in itself subversive of a successful mission? Be that as it may, the wily Mexican was quick enough to grasp the straw.

The decision whether or not to receive Slidell rested necessarily with the Mexican government, but the minister omitted no effort which could advance his claims. He obeyed instructions faithfully. He insisted that all communications make use of his official title, and in a final memorial to Pena y Pena he recapitulated in a most convincing way the plan and scope of the mission as originally understood by both governments. Writing three days after the rejection of his overtures, he placed stress on the point that the United States had proposed an "*envoy*" "*to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two powers,*" and that Mexico had agreed to receive a "*Commissioner*" "*with full power to settle those disputes in a peaceful, reasonable, and honorable manner.*"\* He concluded by saying that the great object of his undertaking had been "by the removal of all mutual causes of complaint for the past, and of distrust for the future, to revive, confirm, and if possible to strengthen these sympathies." Slidell was undoubtedly piqued at the Mexican refusal to give him even a chance, and when we remember Polk's extravagant desire for territory and the strong reasons for obtaining it without war, there appears no reason to question his sincerity of purpose and chagrin at defeat. In the bitterness of his disappointment he assured Buchanan that further negotiations would be practicable only when hostile demonstrations should have convinced the Mexican people "that our differences must be settled promptly either by negotiation or [by] the sword." For the present there was no alternative but to leave the capital. He accordingly withdrew to Jalapa, there to await developments.

Polk's plans regarding Mexico formed only part of a larger whole in an administration conspicuous for its many-sided activ-

\**Exec. Doc.* 29th Cong. 1st Sess. 1845-6. No. 196, p. 35. Italics are Slidell's.

ity, and the rejection of Slidell may readily be traced to a Mexican policy of delaying the settlement of the Texas boundary until the United States should be too deeply involved with England over the Oregon question to have time or energy to press her rights at the South. Similarly, it is susceptible of proof that Polk centered his interest more on Mexico than on Oregon, and that he sacrificed his campaign cry of "54° 40' or Fight" to a protection of southern interests. Far better for a southern Democratic President, given his choice of only part of a loaf, to prefer that part which would most benefit his own section, and would least endanger the Union. Mexico planned shrewdly, but she made her mistake in counting too strongly on our possible difficulties with England. As Slidell himself wrote from his "observatory" at Jalapa, respecting the government which had superseded Herrera's, ". . . my reception . . . will mainly be controlled by the aspect of the Oregon question. Should our difficulties with Great Britain continue to present a prospect of war with that power, there will be but a very faint hope of a change of policy here." Under these circumstances Slidell's inability to secure an audience in no sense represented a personal failure, and Buchanan's replies to his periodical reports breathe not the slightest hint of reproach.

From his new coigne of vantage at Jalapa, Slidell was able to render good service to his government as an observer of Mexican affairs. From here he noted a situation developing which was later to place within our grasp all Northern and Eastern Mexico.\* Yucatan, in particular, he regarded as the cornerstone of the new empire.

News of Slidell's treatment caused the return of the Gulf Squadron to Mexican waters, and in this movement, combined with the advance of General Taylor to the left bank of the Rio Grande, Slidell recognized measures likely to have a salutary influence. International conditions also seemed to be grouping themselves favorably to his ends. Alanan and Paredes, the new Mexican military leaders, were suspected of monarchical tendencies, and their downfall was assured. In such a maze of embarrassments, it was natural for the leaders to shift responsibility upon the shoulders of a dictator, but the people were opposed to such a course, and Slidell anticipated that they would welcome the in-

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\* An outcome only prevented by Trist's mission.

tervention of the United States as a deliverance from prospective tyranny, a natural return to a friendship found useful in the original war for Mexican independence. Best of all, fiscal difficulties had reached an acute stage. Mazatlan, the second port in Mexico, had declared against Paredes, and had cut off thereby a great revenue indispensable to a leader who would retain the loyalty of his troops, or who would avert European interference on the pretext of long overdue interest on bonds and other loans. Altogether Slidell regarded the situation as auspicious. "My note," he wrote Buchanan on March 1, 1846, "will be presented at the most propitious moment that could have been selected. All attempts to effect a loan have completely failed." That this hopefulness was shared by others is plain from Commodore Conner's letter to General Taylor, written from his flagship off Vera Cruz, March 2, 1846, "Mr. Slidell is still at Jalapa; and though unlikely as it may appear; I have it from very good authority that it is probable he will yet be received by the Mexican Government."

In a sense this was the parting of the ways. The outlook did not again appear so hopeful, and in an attempt to estimate the forces at work, it becomes increasingly difficult to determine just how sincere the government's desire remained to treat with Mexico, at any rate on the original basis on which Slidell had been dispatched. One feels that the mission from now on until its termination existed only to preserve appearances. The American people were to be taught to recognize themselves as martyrs to the criminal delay, the wanton folly, of an impotent government. This rather pharisaical programme demanded that we maintain a show of anxiety to treat. Slidell's mission had acquired a new usefulness, a by-product, so to speak, of its original purpose, a significance which Buchanan's final instructions clearly recognized, ". . . in the present distracted condition of Mexico, it is of importance that we should have an able and discreet agent in that country to watch the progress of events."

The excuse for remaining was entirely plausible, since governments in Mexico were short-lived, and what one refused, another might grant. To rest content with the refusal of one would even be dangerous as "It would be difficult . . . to satisfy the American people that all had been done which ought to have been

done to avoid the necessity of resorting to hostilities," and Congress might refuse to support the active measures which Polk proposed to institute upon Slidell's final return. To confuse this new phase of the mission with its original conception is unhistorical. New times demanded new methods, but even yet there lingered traces of good will toward a republic which Buchanan so frequently described as "distracted." Moore's edition of his works includes a letter which was judiciously expurgated before submission to Congress, in which Buchanan directed Slidell to inform Paredes "in some discreet manner that the United States were both able and willing to relieve his administration from pecuniary embarrassment." The only return exacted was justice and a settlement of the boundary. There is reason to feel that this attempted bribe was a genuine move in a last effort to secure peaceably a tract which we had now resolved to gain at all hazards. It was a case of natural evolution. Thwarted desire had grown into determination. Determination in turn led to action, but it is folly to read the aftermath, the Mexican War and the peace settlement, into the original motives of the Slidell mission. These were, as we saw, undoubtedly peaceable and only the blunders of Mexican officials had changed their import.

The new drift of events was clear to Slidell, and in it he found a compensation for the failure of his mission as originally contemplated. He had become a necessary link in a chain which was to punish his adversaries. He must remain at his post so as "to place us in the strongest moral position before our own people and the world by exhausting every possible means of conciliation." The mission had become supremely useful in its derivative possibilities. Primary results Slidell no longer anticipated—"We shall never be able to treat with her on fair terms," he informed Buchanan, "until she has been taught to respect us." A four months' residence in Mexico had shown him what Col. Atocha,\* confidential agent of Santa Anna in Washington, during a part of this period, had originally foretold, that Mexico required an object lesson before she would take the United States seriously.

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\* For very favorable letters regarding Col. Atocha, see *Memorial of Alexander J. Atocha to the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States* pp. 15-16.

While Slidell was in Mexico itself, Polk was corresponding with the exiled Santa Anna. It was a match of wits in which the Spanish mind won first place. Santa Anna was using the United States as a tool to aid in his return to Mexico, and to win Polk's support, he was willing to declare for a boundary which would give us everything north and east of the "Western Texas line and the Colorado of the West down through the Bay of San Francisco,"\* subject to a payment of thirty millions.

In this communication, the go-between was Col. Atocha, an American citizen, who had done a great banking business at Mexico where he had exceptional opportunities to sound the depths of fiscal and general management there in vogue, and he spoke the truth when he assured Polk that a display of force could alone bring the Mexicans to reason. Atocha's business had been with leaders. He knew their venality. He was undoubtedly correct in his view that Paredes, Almonte, and Santa Anna were all willing for an arrangement which would settle many difficulties and direct a flow of gold to their own pockets. What he failed to estimate was the temper of the common people, their patriotism, their contempt for the foreigner, their blindness to painful truths. If Polk's government had had to deal only with leaders uninfluenced by the will of the people, Slidell's mission would have been a success. On the other hand the leaders had done much to stimulate this very fanaticism which was now hindering their own plans. The people, originally misled, were finally demanding a course of action which their leaders knew would be fatal. It was a case of mob rule—democracy gone to seed—in a land which could not comprehend the rudiments of self-government. To some extent Slidell had anticipated this rock of stumbling:—"They have stimulated popular prejudice to a degree that may render any appearance of disposition to treat with us fatal to the new administration" he wrote Buchanan before he left the United States. And the idea was fully developed in Ellis's letters to John Quincy Adams appearing in the *Boston Atlas* during 1845. From this point of view, not Polk nor any one person was the mainspring behind the Mexican War, but the unrestrained democracy of nineteenth century Mexico, which was to repeat the experiment of a similarly unre-

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\* Polk's *Diary*, Feb. 13th, 1846. I, p. 224. Report of Col. Atocha.

strained democracy of antiquity. Call Mexico Athens, and you have another "Peloponnesian War" waged by a people blind to facts and ignorant of underlying conditions.

By April, Slidell's position was seen to be utterly hopeless, and the time had come for Polk to adjust his plans accordingly. He had determined upon war, but felt it unwise to start Congressional action until Slidell should have received his passports and left the country. Though no great admirer of Calhoun, he saw that it was best to take him into his confidence before proceeding to extremities. This he did on April 18, 1846, and he showed a bit of personal animus toward Calhoun by holding British influence partly responsible for Slidell's failure to be received.\*

With the return of Slidell from Mexico, his mission may properly be said to have terminated. If it really aimed at the peaceful absorption of most of Northern Mexico, it had failed; if it aimed at justifying us before the world, it had slight success, because the world as a whole from then till now has regarded the United States as the aggressor in an unjust war for conquest; if it aimed at salving over the American conscience, it succeeded much more widely than many have admitted, because the War with Mexico was not the unpopular brigandage which Lowell's "Bigelow Papers" would have us believe.† It was no doubt this third aspect of the mission that won Polk's approval, for on several occasions he championed Slidell against the personal hostility of Col. Benton, assuring him that Slidell's conduct of the mission had been perfectly satisfactory.

The demands which Slidell was to have made were small compared to the possibilities which war was to place within our reach, and, when the time came for treaty-making, the opposition saw a chance to embarrass the government by insisting that the Slidell instructions be made public. Polk refused, and in this he was sustained by his whole cabinet and by leading Senators. There followed a "test of the prerogative" in which Polk appealed to the precedent of Washington's refusal to exhibit the correspondence bearing upon the Jay Treaty. The administration carried its point, and it was not until six months later, when peace had been concluded and the instructions were dead, that

\* It will be remembered that Calhoun had opposed the radicalism of Polk's election promise.

† Proof of this lies in the muster rolls from the northern states.

Polk sent them to be embalmed in the customary governmental documents. He transmitted the proceedings only when "the reasons for withholding them—no longer existed."

A final judgment upon the underlying motive of Slidell's mission must assume that its original purpose was to usher in Manifest Destiny with as little friction as possible. Conditions at the Mexican capital proved such as to render futile any such hope. But Manifest Destiny bides not for men or measures. If peace be unavailing, resort is had to war. Here the mission served as a burnt-offering. Slidell was to be immolated on the altar of his country's wrongs. His importance in this latter aspect has obscured what this paper believes to have been the primary object of his mission—Peace!

Whether a success or a failure in itself, the mission forms a most interesting link in that long chain which has bound together the East and the West, the North and the South of this continent. Viewed from the broad standpoint of national advance, Slidell was a press agent of progress. Viewed in the light of personal success, Slidell had broadened an experience which was later to bring him forward as the foremost diplomat of the Confederate States, and to secure for him the post of Minister to France. Here again a web of circumstances was to frustrate the most brilliant efforts, but that is another chapter.

# The Meaning and Purpose of Criticism

EDWARD FULTON

Professor of English in the University of Illinois

Whatever the precise function of criticism may be, it may be assumed now that the critic should at least approach his subject from the point of view of the reader, of the observer of the art product, rather than from the point of view of the creator of that product. Until about the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, such an assumption could not have been safely made. The general conception of the function of the critic previous to that time was that he was a sort of schoolmaster, whose duty it was to instruct both author and reader—the former with regard to what was, or was not, permissible in literary art; the latter with regard to what he should, or should not, take pleasure in. Both author and reader were presumed often to stand in need of instruction. In practice, however, the instruction was commonly leveled at the author rather than at the reader, on the supposition, presumably, that if anything were found to be wrong in the state of Literature, it was best to try to right the wrong at its fountain head. Authors, it was presumed, were people who would bear very close watching. As the once famous critic, Thomas Rymer, puts it, "poets would grow negligent, if the critics had not a strict eye over their miscarriages." This notion of the necessity of a critical censorship did not soon die out. Dr. Johnson held it, and it was part of the stock-in-trade of Jeffrey and his bullying compeers of the first great reviews. Since Jeffrey's day, however, hectoring or lecturing the author has gone out of fashion. The general assumption nowadays is that the author may safely be left to take care of himself, and that the critic should concern himself with the literary product mainly, if not wholly, from the point of view of the reader.

Assuming, then, that the critic sets out on his task with the idea of being of some service to the reader, or at any rate with the attitude of mind characteristic of one approaching a possible source of enjoyment, the problem presents itself: Just what is it that he should try to do in order to make his work count for something? This is the problem which has been proving so vexatious to critics for the last fifty or sixty years,—somehow or

other, during this period critics have been more than usually concerned as to the nature of their function in the world of letters,—and it can hardly be said that the solution of it is any nearer now than ever it was. Certainly no theory of criticism as yet put forward has been generally accepted as the final one. Perhaps one would even hesitate to say now that there can be a final explanation of the nature of criticism, any more than there can be a final explanation of art, or of life. Be this as it may, the problem is still an open one, and solutions bid fair to continue appearing for some time to come.

Among the most recent discussions of the question, two deserve, perhaps, more than a mere passing notice,—those of Mr. W. C. Brownell and of Professor J. E. Spingarn. In his interesting article on "Criticism" published in a recent number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. Brownell declares that the function of criticism is "to discern and characterize the abstract qualities informing the concrete expression of the artist." That is to say, the critic should endeavor to translate in terms of the abstract what the artist has expressed in terms of the concrete. In flat contradiction to this is the opinion expressed by Professor Spingarn in his Columbia lecture on "Literary Criticism." The business of the critic, says he, is to identify himself with the artist and to reproduce his conceptions in a new creative work which shall serve, in some sort, as a mirror to the original work of the artist. In other words, what the artist has already expressed in concrete terms, the critic must endeavor to re-express in similar terms. For both Mr. Brownell and Professor Spingarn the function of the critic is that of an interpreter; but, though they would equally insist upon the interpreter entering into his task in a spirit of appreciation, one would have him express himself rationally, the other, artistically.

Mr. Brownell recognizes the fact that the problem of criticism is in reality a dual one,—that it concerns the function of taste as well as of reason in criticism,—and he makes an attempt, though a slight one, to harmonize these two powers. Mere taste, he declares, even though it be intelligent and scholarly,—such taste, for example, as that exhibited in the criticism of Lemaître and of France,—is not to be trusted blindly; for it is, after all, nothing but appetite. Taste must be rationalized before it can be recog-

nized as a trustworthy criterion. Criticism "belongs in the field of reason rather than in that of emotion"; its function is judicial, and its business is "to weigh and reason rather than merely to testify and record." Hence "it must consider less the pleasure that a work of art produces than the worth of the work itself." In short, its business "may not inexactly be described as the statement of the concrete in terms of the abstract."

An obvious comment here is that if taste is to be reckoned with at all, criticism can hardly be described as "the statement of the concrete in terms of the abstract." Statements made in terms of the abstract are the product of the reasoning powers pure and simple. If criticism be "the statement of the concrete in terms of the abstract," how is room to be provided for taste? or how will criticism differentiate itself from science or philosophy? This is patently to put too much stress on the side of reason. It may, as Mr. Brownell observes, be true that "it is in 'reason' that a man is 'noble', in 'faculty' that he is 'infinite', in 'apprehension' that he is 'like a god"'; still, it remains true also that man is not of reason "all compact." In certain of his experiences, as we all know,—and notably in those he encounters in the world of art,—he is very much under the influence of the non-rational side of his nature. The main business of the critic may be to find out the value or worth of the work of art he is dealing with; but can he really do that simply by giving us a statement of it "in terms of the abstract?"

The dogmatic critic—whose position Mr. Brownell is, of course, upholding—is wont to assume that he can. His theory is that criticism is, at bottom, a matter of judging, and of judging in accordance with certain standards or principles laid down by the reason. Not what he himself really feels, but rather what his reason assures him he ought to feel, is the thing that determines his judgment of a work of art. His assumption is that cultivated people are, or should be, in substantial agreement as to what a given work of art means for them, and that the function of the critic is to be the means by which the fact of this agreement is authoritatively pronounced. Before he can pronounce judgment upon a work, therefore, he must either find out what cultivated people think and feel with regard to it, or, if that be impossible, he must compare it with works of a similar nature whose stand-

ing has been fixed. Hence the interest which he always takes in the judgments of previous critics and in the question of *genres*; for if works of art can be judged simply by ranging them alongside of other works whose value has already been determined, the problem of estimating the worth of a given work will be very greatly simplified. The problem in many cases will become, in fact, little more than the application of a sort of rule of thumb, and in no case need it call for much exercise of feeling on the part of the critic.

The weak point in this theory lies, of course, in the assumption that it can always be determined by an appeal to the reason whether one is right or wrong in one's appreciation of a work of art. Doubtless in everything that relates to the purely intellectual side of art, the arbitrament of the reason must be accepted as final; but it is difficult to see upon what rational grounds we can pronounce one aesthetic thrill "right" and another "wrong". If the aesthetic thrill which a work of art ought to produce does not manifest itself, or if a work which the reason has pronounced artistically "wrong" should actually produce the characteristic thrill, how is reason to account for the fact? The critic may fall back upon the psychologist for the explanation; but the psychologist, in turn, will have to seek his explanation from the physiologist; and the latter, certainly, will have no reason to offer why the fact must necessarily be as it is and not otherwise. That the aesthetic thrill does not come to us all alike in presence of the same work, is, of course, notorious. Tastes do differ, and the problem of harmonizing them on a basis of pure reason would seem to be impossible.

To Professor Spingarn, this fact seems too obvious even to mention. In his view, an attempt to harmonize conflicting tastes,—that is to say, to so rationalize taste as to enable all, or at least the majority of, lovers of art to feel themselves in substantial agreement with regard to matters artistic,—would, apparently, be like an attempt to fight over again the battles of our ancestors. We have done, he declares, with "the rules," with "the *genres*," with "all moral judgment of literature," and even with "the race, the time, the environment of a poet's work as an element in criticism." All these things are out of date. What the critic should concern himself with now is his own impression of the artist's work and how he may best give expression to it.

It must be admitted, of course, that talk about "the rules" is nowadays quite out of date; and it may also be admitted that investigations into the origin and history of art-forms or into the complex of forces which may have conspired to make any given artist what he was, do not lie within the province of criticism proper. Such investigations have their own interest and value; but, for the most part, they concern the scientist or historian rather than the critic. To know how a given poem expresses the spirit of its author's race or age, as well as his own individuality, and to know just how it came to take the shape that it has, is to know something that the critic will generally find useful. But this knowledge, however useful, is by no means indispensable; and in no case is it a guarantee that the critic feels the slightest degree of appreciation of the work he is discussing. In short, the "historical approach," so-called, extremely helpful though it may be in certain cases, is, after all, but an approach and nothing more: it may point the way to the critic's goal, but it will never lead him up to it.

But granting that most of the apparatus once thought necessary to the exercise of the critic's task has been discarded as useless lumber, does it follow that every scrap and shred of critical principle should be consigned to the junk-heap? May we no longer talk of kinds of literature without laying ourselves open to the charge of discussing mere "vague abstractions?" And is it really true that "we have done with *all* moral judgment of literature?" Possibly we have. Still, one may, perhaps, be permitted to doubt it.

The theory that the only apparatus a critic really needs is a sensitive soul and a book to his liking looks attractive from its very simplicity; but it has always been open to the objection that it blinks a good many facts. Granted that Nature has duly furnished the critic with the sensitive soul, which is, undoubtedly, the prime requisite, there is the initial problem in the actual work of criticism of bringing the book and the sensitive soul together. This is not a matter that can safely be left to mere chance. Somebody must undertake the responsibility of distinguishing the true poem from that which is only seemingly true, and this is a task which demands the exercise of the judgment. Unless the critic, therefore, surrenders himself blindly to chance, he must first, be-

fore he gives us his impression of a poem, judge it to be worth discussing; and when he does give us his impression, that impression is, in effect, a judgment, as even such an out and out impressionist as M. Lemaître has admitted. "The reasons which one gives for a particular impression," says he in his preface to the sixth volume of *Les Contemporains*, "always imply general ideas. Doubtless the impressionistic critic seems to describe only his own feelings—physical, intellectual, and moral—in his contact with the work to be defined; but in reality he finds himself the interpreter of all feelings similar to his own. And thus there is no such thing as the individualistic critic. He who is called one, instead of classifying works, classifies readers or hearers. But is not classifying the latter, in the last analysis, distributing the former into groups and so judging them?"

The gravest objection to impressionism as a general method of criticism, however, is to be found in the assumption that, in any given expression of critical opinion, the ultimate facts of the case are the critic's own impressions. This is to assume that these facts can properly be treated as isolated facts; in other words, it is to assume that the appreciation of a work of art can be regarded as a matter concerning the individual alone. Such an assumption, however, is wholly without warrant. Art not only springs from social as well as individual forces; it demands social conditions in order to make its appeal. "An individual art," to quote such an authority as Professor Ernst Grosse, "in the strictest sense of the word is, even if it were conceivable, nowhere demonstrable. Art appears among all peoples and in all periods as a social manifestation, and we renounce at once the comprehension of its nature and its significance if we regard it simply as an individual phenomenon." Not only have such forces as the experience of the race to which the artist belongs, and the various influences of environment, education, and the like, to which he has been subjected, their part in making a given work of art what it is, but the social consciousness, so to speak, in which it is reflected after it is produced plays its part as well. What a particular work of art means to any one observer depends, to a certain extent at least, upon what it means to the social group of which he forms a part. No individual observer's opinions are absolutely independent, any more than are the ideas of the artist.

It may seem plausible to argue that, because art production has nowadays become a matter for the individual rather than for the community, art appreciation should be regarded as an individual affair also. But this is to argue without a due consideration of all the facts in the case. In its most primitive stages, art was, doubtless, the product of the group or community acting as a whole, rather than of any one individual; but as civilization advanced and a keener feeling for art developed, its production was relegated more and more to the peculiarly gifted individual and less and less to the group, the average of whose artistic capabilities would never be very high; and progress from point to point naturally and inevitably brought about the situation which now obtains in all highly civilized societies,—the situation, that is, in which the production of works of art is regarded as the province solely of those specially gifted with the artistic temperament and requisite creative energy. The explanation of the change is simple: it is merely a case of the division of labor brought about by the working of the law of efficiency. Better works of art are produced by the artistically gifted, each acting on his own initiative and as the creative spirit moves him, than by the group acting as a group. In the matter of the appreciation of the art product, however, no reason has ever existed for centering the activity in the individual rather than in the group. On the contrary, appreciation is almost always keener in the case of the group than in that of the isolated individual. As Bacon long ago observed and as modern psychology has demonstrated, "the minds of men are more open to impressions and affections when many are gathered together than when they are alone."

The truth is that neither dogmatism nor impressionism can offer us a completely satisfactory method of criticism. Dogmatism is always open to the objection of conventionality, since it bases itself upon judgments of the past, or upon judgments made in accordance with the standards of the past,—that is to say, upon judgments never really our own; and impressionism, vital though it is in its own way, is yet so one-sided in its preoccupation with the individual as to be practically useless as a general method. A criticism to be at once vital and convincing must not only express the aesthetic appreciation of the individual, but must also seek to bring the opinion of the individual, if possible, into

some sort of harmony with the opinion of society in general. Where this is patently impossible, it will, of course, frankly have to acknowledge the fact; but it should never be forgotten that criticism is not fulfilling its whole duty unless it makes some attempt to relate the feeling of the individual to the feeling of the social group of which that individual forms a part. Criticism is not an appreciation merely, but a judgment as well; and, to use the words of Professor J. Mark Baldwin, "the judgment in which art appreciation rests is a social judgment, whether the individual be able to rise to it or not."

Why criticism must be at once an expression of aesthetic feeling on the part of the individual and a judgment which represents the feeling of society, will be obvious if we keep in mind the fundamental fact that every work of art has two aspects,—one that relates to the artist, and one that relates to the observer. If a work of art has had its due effect, it has called into play a certain degree of activity on the part of the observer no less than on that of the artist who produced it. Moreover, the activity in both these cases is essentially the same in kind, though it may manifest itself in vastly different degrees, and is the resultant of impulses which can be traced back ultimately to two distinct instincts deep-seated in human nature, namely: an instinct for self-expression, on the one hand, and an instinct to awaken fellow-feeling, on the other. The impulse which drives the artist to production is in the main, no doubt, an impulse to self-expression; but that it derives at least part of its force from the fundamental need of the human heart for sympathy, is beyond question. As Professor Hirn in his *Origins of Art* observes, "Every man seeks automatically to heighten his feelings of pleasure and to relieve his feelings of pain. The artist is the man who finds he can gain such enhancement or relief, not only by the direct action of giving expression to his feeling, but also by arousing a kindred feeling in others. Hence originates in him that desire to transmit his moods to an external audience which must be regarded as the simplest and most primordial inducement to artistic production. And also as a further means of realising the same purpose there arises the endeavor to give the artistic product—that is to say, the externalised expression of his mood—a form which may facilitate the revival of the original state in an ever wider circle of

sympathisers." What is true, now, in the case of the artist, is equally true in the case of the observer. He, also, feels the need of self-expression and of having the sympathy of his fellows. His need, doubtless, is less poignant than that of the artist, but it is none the less a real need for all that. The only essential point of difference between him and the artist is, in fact, that he lacks the power to give suitable expression to his feelings; he is an artist *in esse*, if not *in posse*, otherwise art would have no meaning for him. Though not able to give, of himself, adequate artistic expression to his own feelings, the observer is, however, able to enter into the conception of the artist and to find in that a sort of make-believe self-expression, which seems to yield him approximately the same satisfaction that actual self-expression yields the artist. But that he may rest in the satisfaction which the conception of the artist affords him, he must have the support and approval of his fellows, for an aesthetic judgment which excludes the sense of the knowledge or judgment of others is an impossibility.

In its simplest form, now, criticism is nothing more nor less than the response to this demand on the part of the observer for the support and approval of his fellows. What the appreciation of the observer is to the artist, that the opinion of the critic is to the observer. Both artist and observer need the sympathy of their fellows,—the one, because social response to his craving for sympathy is the condition necessary to bring his creative instinct into full play; the other, because the approval of his fellows is the condition necessary to enable him to get the fullest enjoyment possible out of a work of art. Where the social group is comparatively small, and the aesthetic appeal to the observer is made in the presence of his fellows,—as, for example, in the case of the primitive song and dance,—this social approval is of course obtainable independently of formal criticism. In such cases, there is no need for formal criticism, and, as a matter of fact, we seldom find it existing. The rise of criticism is long subsequent to the origin of art, and its development is merely an indication of the increasing opportunity which the art of civilized times affords for man to satisfy his aesthetic desires in private rather than in public.

The primary purpose of criticism is thus to confirm the judgment of the individual reader and so heighten his enjoyment of the work he endeavors to appreciate. Herein lies the justification of impressionism. But the impressionist makes a mistake if he rests his case here; he makes a still greater mistake if he supposes that he can rest it here. The judgment of the mere individual goes for little; it is the social judgment that counts. That the reader may feel the critic's support to be adequate and complete, the critic must speak not as a mere individual, but as a representative of the social group to which both he and the reader belong. To have its full effect, the voice of the critic must be the voice of society.

But, if the critic is to voice the opinion of society, it is obvious that he must apply tests and establish standards of taste. How else is he to know whether he is expressing that opinion or not? It does not follow, however, as the dogmatist is wont to assume, that these standards must be such as are determined by the reason alone. Truth, doubtless, may justly claim that Art should serve in her temple no less than in that of her sister goddess, Beauty; but she may be thought to usurp somewhat if she insists on prescribing the conditions of service in both temples. After all, the critic's business is not, primarily, to pass judgments for all time and for all societies, but for his own day and generation rather. Each age has its own way of looking at things and always insists on passing in review the judgments of every preceding age, which amply proves that critical questions are not, like questions in pure science, susceptible of definitive settlement,—in other words, of settlement by a process of pure reasoning.

While criticism, therefore, can be stimulating and effective only when it bases itself on feeling rather than principles, however sound or universal in their scope these may be, it must not be mere impressionism and nothing more. Pure impressionism is almost as futile as pure dogmatism. Beyond question, the critic who best fulfills the duties of his office is he who, in the first place, expresses his own real feeling with regard to the work he criticizes, and, in the second place, brings, or makes an attempt to bring, that feeling into some sort of harmony with the dominant feeling of the social group of which he is, for the time being, an exponent.

# The West Indian Negro Question and the French National Assembly, 1789-1791.

MITCHELL B. GARRETT

Instructor in History in the University of Michigan

At the beginning of the revolution France still retained, scattered about the West Indies and the Indian Ocean, fourteen colonial possessions of which Martinique, Guadeloupe and the French part of Santo Domingo, or modern Haiti, were the most prosperous and important. They had developed in the far away tropics a society and economy essentially different from what obtained in the mother country. At the top of the social scale were the great Creole planters who lorded it over vast plantations of coffee and sugar cane, and at the bottom were thousands of human chattels supplied for the most part by the slave traders of the maritime cities of France. Between these extremes were the free negroes and mulattoes, usually spoken of as the colored people, who counted perhaps one-half the free population of the colonies. Politically and socially they were on almost exactly the same footing as the negroes in our southern states today. They owned farms and even slaves in some cases; they paid taxes, served in the militia, and were legally entitled to all the privileges of citizenship, but in practice they found it next to impossible to enter into the full enjoyment of their rights. At table, at church, and in the professions, for example, the white colonists steadfastly declined to be associated with colored people on terms of equality. Of course this treatment stung the pride of the mulattoes, especially of those who had some education and were imbued with a smattering of the current philosophy of the time. Even before 1789 many of them had crossed oversea to seek comfort and sympathy in the more congenial atmosphere of France. These malcontents were certain to call public attention to themselves so soon as the sacred and imprescriptible rights of man should come to be especially emphasized.

In France the cause of the colored people found strong advocates and powerful opponents. In 1787 the negrophiles in Paris had been organized by Brissot de Warville into the Society of the Friends of the Blacks in imitation of the anti-slavery societies of

London and Philadelphia. The immediate object of this society was the abolition of the slave trade and the amelioration of the lot of the negroes, whether bond or free; and its influence was far-reaching. Among its most active members were numbered such prominent men as Mirabeau, Robespierre, La Fayette, Pétion and the Abbé Grégoire. Opposed to the society and its propaganda were the several hundred colonial proprietors resident in France, who deprecated all interference in the domestic institutions of the colonies and sought to stifle, wherever possible, all discussion of the negro question. The animosity between these two factions was bitter, and their controversy full of mutual recrimination.

The opportunity for the mulattoes to act came in August, 1789, when the declaration of the rights of man became a constitutional decree. Those who happened to be in France drew together at Paris and held a series of conferences. Here they agreed to press the point that as they had been excluded from the elections in the colonies they could not be said to have a representation in the National Assembly. So they drew up cahiers of grievances and elected deputies of their own. In order to strengthen their case in public opinion, apparently, they first made a formal demand on the white planters to yield up their pretensions to superiority and to recognize the rights of the colored citizens. When the planters rejected these overtures, the mulattoes printed a minute account of the whole affair\* and scattered copies broadcast for the edification of those who chose to read how the proud and captious planters treated poor, down-trodden negroes. Then after waiting a little more than a month for this pamphlet to have the desired effect, a deputation of mulattoes headed by Julien Raymond, de Joly, and Ogé, appeared at the bar of the National Assembly (October 22) and spoke in part as follows:

"The free colored citizens and proprietors of the French isles and colonies have the honor to remind you that there still exists in one of the countries of this empire a race of men debased and degraded; a class of citizens devoted to contempt, to all the humiliations of slavery; in a word, Frenchmen who groan under the yoke of oppression. . . . . Born citizens and free, they live strangers in their own fatherland. Ex-

\* *Extrait du procès-verbal de l'assemblée des citoyens libres et propriétaires de couleur des îles et colonies françaises, constituée sous le titre de colonie Américaine* (Paris, 12 septembre 1789).

cluded from all preferments, from all dignities, from all professions, they are even forbidden to engage in some of the mechanical trades. Subjected to distinctions the most debasing, they find slavery even in the bosom of liberty. . . . And now they come to solicit in the bosom of this august assembly a representation necessary to put them in position to assert their rights and especially to defend their interests against the tyrannical pretensions of the whites . . . .”†

The whole speech was finely phrased and the story of grievances rang true. It was to remedy just such evils that the revolution had been launched. There was only one consistent response possible, and the President of the National Assembly made it: “No part of the nation shall appeal in vain to the National Assembly for its rights. . . .” Both the speech and the response were greeted with prolonged applause and both ordered to be spread entire upon the official minutes. The mulattoes were voted the honors of the sitting, and they had every reason to expect that their petition would be granted. In fact, the committee on elections did decide to recommend the admission of two colored deputies, but the planters and their partisans refused to listen to such a proposal. Twice the committee on elections sought a hearing and twice such an uproar was raised that the report could not be read. For a long time thereafter the mulattoes had to content themselves with petitions that were never read in the National Assembly and with pamphlets distributed among the people.

The most effective argument against the admission of colored deputies was that no original petitions could be produced to prove that the colored people in the colonies desired a separate representation. The reason for this lack is easily found. As early as August the colonial deputies in the National Assembly\* had sounded the alarm to their constituents in the islands relative to the dangerous tendency of the revolution. At once the whites, especially the lower classes of them, began systematically to terrorize the colored people so that none dared circulate petitions for signatures. On their side, the planters resident in France, though they could not obtain legal means to close the ports against the mulattoes and the Friends of the Blacks, per-

† *Procès-Verbal de l'Assemblée nationale, imprimé par son ordre* (Started June 12, 1789), no. 106, pp. 2-9.

\* Six deputies from Santo Domingo were admitted on July 4, 1789; two from Guadeloupe on September 22, and two from Martinique on October 14. Deputies from other colonies followed much later.

suaded the chambers of commerce, the municipalities of the maritime cities, and the captains of the merchant vessels to apprehend suspected emissaries and to seize suspected packages. Thus the mulattoes in France were isolated. The only petition which reached them from the islands was smuggled across in a barrel of coffee.<sup>†</sup> It was not till 1791, when the municipalities of the maritime cities fell into the hands of the radical Jacobins that anything like free communication was reestablished.

The success with which the petition of the mulattoes was disposed of encouraged the planters to make an attempt to get full control of the situation. The Minister of Marine unwittingly played into their hands by officially advising the National Assembly that, since conditions in the colonies were so different from those in France, the new decrees could not be executed there without producing sudden revolution and destruction. Referring pointedly to this advice of the King's minister, M. de Curt, deputy from Guadeloupe, declared in a speech of November 26 that it was the custom of the National Assembly to appoint a special committee to solve such problems as were here presented, and that such a committee must needs be composed of deputies best qualified by knowledge and experience for the task in hand. He therefore moved that a committee on colonies be appointed, composed of the ten colonial deputies and of ten merchants engaged in the colonial trade, and that this committee be instructed to report without delay the plan for a special colonial constitution. This motion, if put through, would in a large measure have removed the initiation of a colonial régime from the jurisdiction of theorists and have intrusted it to those most interested in the preservation of slavery and maintenance of the political supremacy of the planters. By way of opposition, the Friends of the Blacks argued with considerable force that colored deputies should first be admitted in order that the mulattoes might have a voice in the decision of a question which concerned them as much as it did the planters. Rather than have the delicate question of mulatto rights discussed, however, the planters preferred to lose their motion. They accordingly acquiesced silently in the decision of the National Assembly not to appoint a committee on colonies "for the present."

<sup>†</sup> Raimond, Julien, *Véritable Origine des Troubles de S. Domingue, et des différentes causes qui les ont produits* (Paris, 1792), 20. Lebodey de Saultchevreuil, *Journal des Etats-Généraux*, XXV, 390; *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 268.

Just three months after this, a special committee was appointed on the basis desired by the planters. This action was induced by the arrival of alarming intelligence from the colonies.

The news of the storming of the Bastille and of the declaration of the rights of man reached the colonies in October, 1789. Amidst wild transports, the tricolored cockade was everywhere adopted as the sacred emblem of revolution, and the colonial militia was converted into a revolutionary organization after the model of the national guards of Paris. Hostile demonstrations drove out the Intendant of Santo Domingo and sent other agents of the government into hiding. Those who refused to wear the cockade were subject to persecution and mob violence. But on the heels of joy trod anger and fear. Rumor had it that the slaves were all to be freed, and that Friends of the Blacks were already abroad in the land arousing the negroes in anticipation of the event. A great fear, like that in France in the summer of 1789, spread to all the islands. The whites in some places passed entire nights under arms awaiting the appearance of thousands of revolted slaves who existed only in imagination. To relieve these apprehensions a spontaneous movement arose for the formation of popular governments. In Santo Domingo and Martinique popular assemblies were elected which straightway usurped sovereign authority and sought to play in the colonies a role similar to that played in France by the National Assembly. If the colonies were to be held under imperial control, the mother country had to interfere.

On March 2, 1790, the committee on reports informed the National Assembly for the first time of the serious nature of the disorders. A committee on colonies was now recognized to be indispensable. But could it be appointed without provoking a discussion of the negro question? Before the report on the disorders could be finished, thirty-three deputies had inscribed their names upon the list of speakers, according to custom in important debates, and the discussion bade fair to last for a week. A colonial proprietor, however, interrupted the report with the suggestion that time was precious and the matter pressing, and that a committee on colonies should be appointed without any delay. Several brief speeches followed, bearing directly on the question before the house; and the motion was about to pass

without mention of embarrassing topics, when Abbé Maury, the irreconcilable enemy of the revolution and assiduous mischief-maker of the National Assembly, endeavored to provoke a general debate by declaring: "I will make you decree the freedom of the slaves; it is the necessary consequence of your principles. Commerce will be ruined, bankruptcy will follow, and you will all be hanged."\* His proposal that the question of slavery be taken up for discussion was defeated by a majority of but thirty-three votes.† The Assembly then decided that a committee of twelve should be chosen indiscriminately from the whole body of deputies; and this committee was instructed to submit a report on colonies within six days.

By some unknown device the composition of this committee was controlled in such a way that its membership was made up almost wholly of colonists, colonial proprietors resident in France, merchants interested in the promotion of colonial commerce, or deputies from cities devoted primarily to colonial trade. The most notable exception was Barnave of Dauphiné, the eloquent reporter of the committee, who had no pecuniary interests in the colonies but who was a bosom friend of the Lameth brothers, colonial proprietors, and could therefore be trusted to echo the voice of the planters. On the whole the planters had no reason to feel downhearted.

On March 8, Barnave presented an elaborate report. After a long divagation on the commercial importance of the colonies and on the terrible financial disaster which would ensue if the colonies should be lost, the favorite argument of the planters, he traced all the discontent to three fundamental evils—ministerial despotism, the stringent navigation laws by which the French merchants monopolized the colonial commerce, and the uneasiness which the colonists felt concerning the interpretation and application of the declaration of the rights of man. The remedy proposed was to permit the colonies to make their own constitutions, subject to ratification by the National Assembly and the King. The negro question was referred to but indirectly. To allay colonial apprehensions it was recommended that the National Assembly declare that, though it considered the colonies a

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\* *Journal d'Adrien Duquesnoy*, . . . 3 mai 1789—3 avril 1790. (Paris 1894), II, 445.

† *Ibid.*, II, 438.

part of the French Empire, it did not intend to include them in the constitution framed for the mother country or to subject them to laws incompatible with their local institutions, and that no innovation, direct or indirect, would be made in any system of commerce (slave trade) in which the colonies were engaged. Naturally the planters were highly pleased, and the Friends of the Blacks greatly chagrined. The end of the report was greeted from the hall and the galleries with loud applause and reiterated calls of "question, question." Friends of the Blacks tried to obtain the floor; Mirabeau rushed to the speaker's stand purple with rage and shouted, "Cowardly knaves that you are"; but the voice of opposition was stifled. Discussion was prevented and the report was adopted amid a tumult of applause. At the instance of the planters, a special corvette was dispatched to the colonies to bear the glad tidings.

Unhappily for the planters, however, the committee insisted that a set of instructions be appended to the decree, wherein were laid down certain general regulations to which the colonial constitutions would be required to conform and, what was vastly more important, an attempt was made to guide the colonists in the election of delegates to the proposed constitutional conventions. The parish was taken as the electoral unit and to each parish were apportioned deputies according to the number of its active citizens. Now, who were to be active citizens? This was the thorny question. The committee had not the least desire to see the colored people enfranchised, but how could it discriminate against colored people without flagrantly violating the imprescriptible rights of man? The situation was strikingly similar to that in some of our southern states where recently the negroes have been disfranchised in the face of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States. In each case the letter of the law was observed but the intention was contravened. "All persons", ran the clause in the instructions proposed by the committee, "who are twenty-five years old, owners of real estate, or, in default of such property, residents for two years in the parish, shall have the right to vote in the parochial elections for deputies." This clause appeared innocent enough, but in fact it had a subtle meaning. When the Abbé Grégoire asked in debate if the expression "all persons" included the colored citizens, a col-

onist hotly replied in the negative, and a chorus of voices demanded that the Abbé be called to order. "This clause satisfies everybody", said a colonial proprietor, "and as a longer discussion may stir up doubt and error, I propose that the discussion be closed upon a matter so clear."\* This was promptly done and, though the instructions as a whole were discussed at some length, the enfranchisement of the negroes was not again mentioned. The planters all knew how to interpret the expression "all persons" but did not care to give away the secret. Moreover the instructions were only meant to be temporary in their application. Once assembled, the colonial constitutional conventions in which only planters, of course, would have seats, would fix for all time the qualifications for active citizenship. Reasoning thus the planters received with what grace they could the instructions which finally passed the National Assembly on March 28.

In more tranquil times it is quite possible that the planters might have executed the decree in accordance with their own interpretation without causing any great friction. There would doubtless have been indignation among the mulattoes, especially among those resident in France; but it is highly improbable that the rank and file of the colored people would have risen in violent protest against disfranchisement if the white planters had advised them to keep quiet, for submission and tranquility are salient characteristics of the negro race. But the times were revolutionary. The Friends of the Blacks in France felt it their duty to keep the colored people aroused in defense of their rights, while the white colonists ardently resented this outside interference. When the decrees of March 8 and 28, containing the ambiguous clause about suffrage, reached the West Indies, trouble at once ensued. In Martinique where a crowd of colored people tried to push their way into a procession on Corpus Christi Day, a race riot broke out which continued for several days. In Santo Domingo the situation was complicated by the existence of two rival popular assemblies which were busy fulminating against each other. On receipt of the obnoxious decrees, one of these promptly declared itself independent of the jurisdiction of the National Assembly; the other, while professing allegiance, complained indignantly that the Friends of the Blacks had too much influence on the decisions of the National Assembly, that the warm reception

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\* *Point du Jour*, no. CCLVII, 224.

tendered the mulattoes on October 22 was an outrage, and that the National Assembly was too reticent in regard to the security of movable property (slaves) in the colonies.\* This address made it quite plain that the whites meant to remain forever masters in the colonies and would never permit the political enfranchisement of the colored people or any interference with slavery. And such in general was the tenor of other addresses which, in August and September, 1790, began to flood the National Assembly. In all of them were veiled threats of revolt in imitation of the thirteen English colonies if these grievances were not promptly redressed.

In two reports made on October 12 and November 29, 1790, Barnave told the story of all the troubles in the colonies from the beginning of the revolution and, as a means of restoring peace and order, made the following recommendations: That the National Assembly promise to incorporate in the national constitution of France an unchangeable and unambiguous clause to the effect that no law upon the 'status of persons' would ever be made applicable to the colonies except upon the specific and formal demand of the colonists themselves; that commissioners having at their disposal the military and naval forces be dispatched to the colonies to restore order and to provide provisionally for the needs of the colonies; and finally that a new and more elaborate set of electoral instructions be drawn up for the colonies and sent to the commissioners to be rigorously executed. The first recommendation the Friends of the Blacks tried to oppose; but here again, as on March 8, the voice of opposition was stifled. In all regards the committee on colonies was given a free hand to deal with the problem at its own discretion.

During December, 1790, and the early months of 1791, Barnave absented himself from the sessions of the National Assembly,† called his committee together several times a week, and put his hand to the task of drawing up a set of instructions for the colonies which would be no less than an elaborate colonial constitution. But by the time the task was finished, the political group with which the members of the committee were affiliated had lost its strength, and the radical Jacobins, who were favorable to the universal application of the declaration of the rights of man, had

\* *Adresse de l'Assemblée provinciale de la partie du Nord de Saint-Domingue, à l'Assemblée nationale* (Paris, 1790), 12-17. This address was written at Cap Français, July 18, 1790.

† *Oeuvres de Barnave* (Paris, 1843. 4 vols.), I, 125.

gained control of the revolution. The sad fate of the mulatto Ogé\* who, after an unsuccessful attempt to arouse the colored people of Santo Domingo, had been caught by the planters and broken on the wheel, had roused popular compassion. All over France the Jacobin clubs joined hands with the Society of the Friends of the Blacks and, by means of letters and proclamations, gave renewed vigor to the agitation on behalf of the negroes. This change of public sentiment was reflected in the National Assembly. On January 11 a motion to increase the jurisdiction of the committee on colonies was defeated. On March 4 a motion to receive at the bar a deputation of mulattoes was defeated only by the solemn assurance of the colonial deputies that the colonies would instantly revolt if such an outrage were again committed. On all sides there were indications that a storm was brewing, that the voice of opposition could no longer be stifled, that the next report of the committee on colonies would meet with defeat.

By May the instructions for the colonies were ready. Under pressure of public opinion the portion which related to the qualifications for active citizenship was submitted first as a separate report. The chief feature of this was a scheme by which a congress composed of twenty-nine delegates from the different colonies should meet at Saint Martin, an island situated almost in the centre of the archipelago, and decide this question uniformly for all the French West Indies. Of course all the delegates would be white planters, and the result of the congress could be easily predicted. The colonists and their sympathizers seem to have hoped that this measure, like the preceding ones regarding the colonies, could be rushed through in a burst of applause; but the Friends of the Blacks had at last got public sentiment on their side. The Abbé Grégoire obtained the floor and retained it in spite of the efforts of the colonial deputies, and succeeded in having all action on the report deferred till printed copies of it could be distributed. This was the opening skirmish, and its result boded ill for the planters in the struggle that was to follow.

The issue was squarely joined on May 11, and the debate, quite stormy at times, lasted for five days. The Friends of the Blacks invoked the declaration of the rights of man and claimed

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\* Ogé appeared in the deputation to the National Assembly on October 22, 1789.

that the issue was in reality conceded by the instructions of March 28 where "all persons" were granted the rights of active citizenship. The colonists contended that the declaration of the rights of man had been, by the decree of March 8, made inapplicable to the colonies, and that, if the expression "all persons" should be interpreted literally, the instructions in which the expression occurred had never been intended to be other than provisional in their application and would not be in effect after the first colonial elections. A similar controversy arose over the question of the validity of the promise made by the National Assembly on October 12 that no laws upon the 'status of persons' would be enforced in the colonies without the specific and formal demand of the colonists themselves. From time to time the course of the debate was interrupted by addresses from the mulattoes and other outsiders on either side of the argument. In the Assembly the champions of the colored people sat on the extreme left, while the colonists could count on the left centre and the extreme right for support. The great body of deputies who sat in the centre was either unconvinced or indifferent, and it was to this part of the hall that the debaters directed their remarks.<sup>†</sup> As the days wore on, the deputies of the centre became impatient for a compromise, and urged that the debate be closed. So on May 13, it was enacted that no law in regard to slaves would ever be made applicable to the colonies except upon the formal and spontaneous demand of the colonists themselves;<sup>\*</sup> but on May 15, it was enacted that all colored people born of free parents should have the right to vote in the colonies if they had the requisite property and residence qualifications.<sup>†</sup> No action was taken with reference to the large class of freedmen, it being tacitly understood apparently that their political destiny would be left in the hands of the planters. All told, no more perhaps than two percent of the colored people were thus enfranchised;<sup>‡</sup> certainly the number was not large enough to influence the result of elections; but the principle of negro suffrage had been sanctioned, and for this reason the planters were heartily disgusted. The day after the obnox-

<sup>\*</sup> *Louis-Marthe de Gouy, Député à l'Assemblée nationale, à ses commettans.* (Paris, ce 15-31 mai 1791), 21-22.

<sup>\*</sup> *Procès-Verbal de l'Assemblée nationale*, no. 649, p. 8.

<sup>†</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 651, pp. 5, 8.

<sup>‡</sup> *Lehodey, op. cit.*, XXXIII, 239.

ous decree was passed the colonial deputies announced their own withdrawal from the National Assembly.

What intrigues were woven in the days that followed, it is impossible to discover. The Friends of the Blacks urged the necessity of hastening the execution of the decree before false reports from France could set the colonists by the ears; but the committee on colonies sullenly declined to make further recommendations. The instructions were not in shape to be dispatched officially to the colonies till July 25, and then for some mysterious reason the commissioners who had been appointed since March to be the bearers took occasion to resign, thereby causing another delay of several weeks. When at last a new commission was ready at Brest to embark with the instructions, disquieting reports came in from the colonies to shake the confidence of the National Assembly in the virtue of the decree.

The first report was a letter from the Governor of Santo Domingo dated July 3. The fatal decree or death warrant for the colonists, wrote the Governor, had been brought to Cap François by trading vessels from Nantes; the news had spread like wildfire, arousing the greatest excitement; confidence in the promises of the National Assembly was utterly destroyed; any attempt to execute the decree would be the signal for the beginning of a frightful race war. The Governor concluded by begging to be excused from the responsibility of causing the blood of his fellow-citizens to flow. This intelligence was such a striking confirmation of what the colonial proprietors had all along been prophesying that the Friends of the Blacks voiced the suspicion that the letter had not been written without inspiration from the colonists in France. The stormy debate which followed in the Assembly took the form of a denunciation of the committee on colonies and its policy of passive obstruction. Six new members were added to galvanize it into activity. But the new members failed to accomplish anything and within a week four of them resigned. At the end of August and the beginning of September, petitions from the colonies and the maritime cities, demanding the revocation of the decree, were read almost daily in the National Assembly. The results were that the departure of the commissioners at Brest was postponed indefinitely, and the committee on colonies agreed to make further recommendations.

Finally on September 24, when public attention was absorbed in the election of deputies to the succeeding assembly, the National Assembly rescinded its action of May 15, and left the decision relative to the enfranchisement of the colored people entirely to colonial initiative. Thus the planters had at last succeeded in their task; but by this time the agitation of revolutionary propaganda in the islands had begotten an uprising which could not be checked. In August a terrible slave insurrection had started in Santo Domingo which ended only with the extermination of the white colonists and the destruction of the colonial prosperity of France.

## John Clare, A Forgotten Nineteenth-Century Poet

H. HOUSTON PECKHAM

That John Clare has been virtually forgotten is to my mind one of the greatest anomalies in literary history. At the present time it is difficult to find the bare mention of his name in any work on English literature; but considerably less than a century ago he was enjoying the enthusiastic praise of such critics as De Quincey and Lamb, and as recently as 1870 Edwin Hood went so far as to call Clare "one of the sweetest village nightingales that ever warbled the notes of pastoral melody in English verse."

Why, then, is Clare so utterly neglected today? I must leave the answering of that question to some person much more skilful at solving riddles than am I. To show, however, why Clare deserves a much wider recognition than Fate has so far accorded him is a task so obviously easy that I do not hesitate to attempt it here.

The marvelous story of John Clare's life reads more like a strange, unearthly, pathetic epic than like history. A man of humbler origin than he never lived in England. He was born in a miserable hovel at Helpston, Northamptonshire, July 13, 1793, the son of a pauper farm-laborer. And here, in the heart of one of the most desolate and unhealthful fens in Great Britain, he grew to manhood.

But despite the wretchedness and squalor of his early surroundings, and despite the hardships to which he was necessarily subjected from his very first years, his boyhood does not seem to have been unhappy. On the contrary, he seems to have dwelt in a fairyland of dreams, a fact which doubtless explains why in latter life he could speak of his native hut as a "bower of bliss" made sweet by the song of the black-cap and the musk of roses. As an instance of his wonderful imagination, a story is told of how, when a very small lad, he once set out to walk to the end of the sky, in order that he might put his hand upon it. Returning home disappointed after several hours of weary roaming, he was chastised for running away; but the fact that his quest had been a failure grieved him much more than did his punishment.

So far as schooling was concerned, Clare was untutored, but his passion for reading more than made up for this lack. Indeed, like Benjamin Franklin, he could not remember the time when he did not know how to read. He invariably carried with him some book of poems to peruse while tending his flocks, and it is recorded that at the age of thirteen he spent his last shilling on a copy of Thomson's "Seasons".

His career as a writer began very early too; for at the age when most boys are more interested in tops and kites than in anything else, we find Clare scrawling crude verses. All of these which his parents could lay hold of were speedily destroyed.

Little else is known about his early life. We do know, however, that he passionately loved one Mary Joyce, and that, though her father's interference prevented his winning her hand, the affair gave inspiration to some of the finest lyrics Clare ever wrote. We know further that his roving, restless disposition led him successively into the army and into the company of Gypsies. And we are informed that in his twenty-seventh year he wedded a Martha Turner, the "Patty" of some of his poems.

It was about the time of his marriage, too, that his public literary career really began; for it was in 1820 that a Mr. Drury, a Stamford bookseller, became so interested in a collection of Clare's poems as to place them in the hands of Taylor, the well-known London publisher, who at once recognized the merit of the poems. Thus the world first came to know "Poems Descriptive of Rural Life and Scenery, by John Clare, a Northamptonshire Peasant." The success of the new volume was as great as it was immediate. The critics praised it lavishly, even the conservative, hypercritical *Quarterly Review* speaking of it in the highest terms; the public read it with vastly more enthusiasm than the public usually reads poetry; and prominent actors recited its lyrics on the stage of Covent Garden. Then Clare went up to London, where he was wined and dined and fawned upon by the smart folk; and then he returned home to be patronized by the nobility and gentry of his native shire, and to find himself the recipient of an annual income of forty-five pounds.

But his good fortune was extremely short-lived. Only the next year his volume, "The Village Minstrel," a collection decidedly better than "Poems Descriptive of Rural Life," received almost no

public notice. Meantime his modest income had proved entirely inadequate.

When we next hear of Clare he is in London, whither he repaired in 1822. This second trip to the metropolis should have been most profitable to the young poet; for during his sojourn he met such noted literary figures as Coleridge, De Quincey, Hazlitt, and Lamb. But as a matter of fact the visit appears to have done him more harm than good; since he sought the company of questionable women, squandered every farthing he could lay hold of, and finally went back to Northamptonshire to lead an existence of drunkenness, discontent, and sickness.

The remainder of Clare's long life was melancholy enough. He never, as one commentator puts it, had the soul of a peasant, a fact which, coupled with his sojourn in London and his consequent meeting with smart folk, taught him to despise his mean native environment and especially the society of people of his class. This spirit of discontent conspired with protracted fits of intoxication and with actual lack of proper bodily sustenance to drive him to insanity.

From his madness he never permanently recovered. So we find him spending practically the latter half of his life in asylums: first in a private institution in Epping Forest—from which he ran away in 1835—and later in the county house of Northamptonshire.

Clare died May 20, 1864; and—thanks to public subscription—he was buried, not in a pauper's grave, but beneath a sycamore-tree in Helpston, the village of his birth.

Almost as anomalistic as his strange life is Clare's work. He is commonly spoken of as a peasant poet; but the term is a misnomer; for unlike Burns and Barnes, he uses dialect almost never, and he is further unlike them in that his good English is seldom stilted. Moreover, his verses do not show the usual peasant lawlessness; since he habitually uses the conventional forms: the sonnet, the heroic couplet, and the Spenserian stanza. In fact, the only unmistakably peasant characteristics of his work are his occasional limping lines and his not infrequent mis-spellings and grammatical errors.

The fact that Clare's lines are not characteristically the lines of an illiterate person leads, of course, to the assumption that he

read some of the best poets rather extensively. In this connection Arthur Symons assures us that Clare was conversant with the work of Burns, Cowper, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, and Crabbe, and I have already made mention of his early interest in Thomson. That he was very familiar also with the poetry of William Collins cannot be doubted; for Clare's "Autumn", written in the peculiar unrimed stanza of two pentameters followed by two trimeters, is clearly an imitation of Collins's "Ode to Evening."

I have mentioned the fact that one of the forms used by Clare was the sonnet. His sonnets, I think, call for more than mere passing notice; since he never, so far as I have been able to ascertain, employed the Petrarchan arrangement, and very seldom made use of the Shakespearean. Whether or not his sonnets are, in the strictest sense, sonnets at all is a question which I do not propose to discuss here. I shall merely call attention to some of the forms which he used. One of his favorite forms has the following rime-scheme: *ababcdcdeefgfg*, Clare's scheme thus differing from the Shakespearean scheme in that the couplet comes at the beginning of the sestet instead of at the end. Another form for which Clare showed a fondness was the couplet form. In other words, some of his sonnets are simply heroic poems made up of seven consecutive couplets. One of his most peculiar sonnets is the one entitled "To My Oaten Reed," this piece riming as follows: *ababbacbccadbd*. One of his best sonnets is "Morning," which I quote forthwith, as evidence that Clare was no mean sonneteer:

O now the crimson east, its fire-streak burning,  
Tempts me to wander 'neath the blushing morn,  
Winding the zig-zag lane, turning and turning,  
As winds the crooked fence's wilder'd thorn.  
Where is the eye can gaze upon the blushes,  
Unmoved, with which yon cloudless heaven flushes ?  
I cannot pass the very bramble, weeping  
'Neath dewy tear-drops that its spears surround,  
Like harlot's mockery on the wan cheek creeping,  
Gilding the poison that is meant to wound,—  
I cannot pass the bent, ere gales have shaken  
Its transient crowning off, each point adorning,—  
But all the feelings of my soul awaken,  
To own the witcheries of most lovely Morning.

But I have not yet touched upon Clare's greatest claims to recognition. Let me assert, then, without further delay, that John Clare was one of the most charming minor lyrists of the nineteenth century. However imitative he may be in some of the more conventional forms, his best lyrics are utterances from the heart. Like the redbreast, he sings because his soul is full of music. Note the beautiful spontaneity of "Adieu!"

"Adieu, my love, adieu!  
Be constant and be true  
As the daisies gemmed with dew,  
Bonny maid."  
The cows their thirst were slaking,  
Trees the playful winds were shaking,  
Sweet songs the birds were making  
In the shade.  
The moss upon the tree  
Was as green as green could be,  
The clover on the lea  
Ruddy glowed;  
Leaves were silver with the dew,  
Where the tall sowthistles grew,  
And I bade the maid adieu  
On the road.  
Then I took myself to sea,  
While the little chiming bee  
Sung his ballad on the lea,  
Humming sweet;  
And the red-winged butterfly  
Was sailing through the sky,  
Skimming up and bouncing by  
Near my feet.  
I left the little birds,  
And sweet lowing of the herds,  
And couldn't find out words,  
Do you see,  
To say to them good-bye,  
Where the yellow cups do lie;  
So heaving a deep sigh,  
Took to sea.

And note the exquisite lyrical quality of the following lines:

In the meadow's silk grasses we see the black snail,  
Creeping out at the close of the eve, sipping dew,  
While even's one star glitters over the vale,

Like a lamp hung outside of that temple of blue.  
 I walk with my true love adown the green vale,  
 The light feathered grasses keep tapping her shoe ;  
 In the whitethorn the nightingale sings her sweet tale,  
 And the blades of the grasses are sprinkled with dew.

And notice the lovely delicacy of "Spring Flowers":

Bowing adorers of the gale,  
 Ye cowslips delicately pale,  
 Upraise your loaded stems,  
 Unfold your cups in splendor ; speak !  
 Who deck'd you with that ruddy streak,  
 And gilt your golden gems ?

Violets, sweet tenants of the shade,  
 In purple's richest pride array'd,  
 Your errand here fulfil !  
 Go, bid the artist's simple stain  
 Your lustre imitate, in vain,  
 And match your Maker's skill.

Daisies, ye flowers of lowly birth,  
 Embroid'lers of the carpet earth,  
 That stud the velvet sod ;  
 Open to spring's refreshing air,  
 In sweetest smiling bloom declare  
 Your Maker and my God.

And while I am speaking of Clare as a lyrist, let me return for a moment to one of his personal weaknesses to which I referred earlier in this paper: namely, his excessive fondness for strong drink. This weakness served one good purpose, at any rate: it gave the world "The Toper's Rant," indubitably one of the most spirited drinking-songs in the English language. Note the splendid vigor of these lines:

Come, come, my old crones and gay fellows  
 That love to drink ale in a horn,  
 We'll sing racy songs now we're mellow  
 Which topers sung ere we were born.  
 For our bottle kind fate shall be thanked,  
 And line but our pockets with brass,  
 We'll sooner suck ale through a blanket  
 Than thimbles of wine from a glass.

. . . . .  
 We'll sit till the bushes are dropping  
 Like the spout of a watering pan,  
 For till the dram's drank there's no stopping,

We'll keep up the ring to a man.  
 We'll sit till dame nature is feeling  
 The breath of our stingo so warm,  
 And bushes and trees begin reeling  
 In our eyes like to ships in a storm.

We'll sit for three hours before seven,  
 When larks wake the morning to dance,  
 Till night's sooty brood of eleven,  
 When witches ride over to France.  
 We'll sit it in spite of the weather  
 Till we tumble our length on the plain,  
 When the morning shall find us together  
 To play the game over again.

Less attractive than Clare's lyrics, but too important to be overlooked, are his philosophical poems. The sadness of his life is revealed by the fact that the moment he begins to philosophize he becomes melancholy. What, for example, could show his world-weariness more conclusively than the following sonnet, "To An Hour-Glass"?—

Old-fashioned uncouth measurer of the day,  
 I love to watch thy filtering burthen pass;  
 Though some there are that live would bid thee stay;  
 But these view reasons through a different glass  
 From him, Time's meter, who addresses thee.  
 The world has joys which they may deem as such;  
 The world has wealth to season vanity,  
 And wealth is theirs to make their vainness much:  
 But small to do with joys and Fortune's fee  
 Hath he, Time's chronicler, who welcomes thee.  
 So jog thou on, through hours of doom'd distress;  
 So haste thou on the glimpse of hopes to come;  
 As every sand-grain counts a trouble less,  
 As every drain'd glass leaves me nearer home.

And what could be more dreary than the following stanza, intited while he was in the asylum?—

Left in the world alone,  
 Where nothing seems my own,  
 And everything is weariness to me,  
 'Tis a life without an end,  
 'Tis a world without a friend,  
 And everything is sorrowful I see.

But it is neither as lyrist nor as philosopher that Clare is shown quite at his best. Whatever fame he may have in the future—and

surely the time is coming when he will enjoy the fame which he deserves—must rest largely upon the fact that as a vivid, accurate portrayer of the most minute natural phenomena he stands with Tennyson and Matthew Arnold, rather than with any minor poet of the nineteenth or any other century. As Edwin Hood very truly says, "He walks with Nature as an angel walks with goodness—naturally, cheerfully, fraternally". And Hood might have added that Clare understood Nature as an angel understands goodness—instinctively, intuitively. Such epithets as "sooty swallow", "green-swathed grasshopper", "droning dragon-fly", and "red-legged sable bee", even when taken quite apart from their context, show conclusively the vigorous accuracy of Clare's imagery; as do also such phrases as "pasture tracked deep with cows", "that . . . . . bee booms faint with weary chime", "the even curdles dank and grey", "the gosling broods in coats of sunny green", "the robin . . . . . tootling its song in feathery gooseberry tree", "the mealy light of waking day", "the cockchafer hums down the rut-rifted lane".

Doubtless, however, a complete picture will serve better than any number of isolated items to give the reader an adequate conception of Clare's greatness as a descriptive artist. I therefore quote his charming nature sonnet, "The Wheat Ripening":

What time the wheat-field tinges rusty brown  
And barley bleaches in its mellow grey  
'Tis sweet some smooth mown baulk to wander down  
Or cross the fields on footpath's narrow way  
Just in the mealy light of waking day.  
As glittering dewdrops moist the maiden's gown  
And sparkling bounces from her nimble feet  
Journeying to milking from the neighboring town  
Making life light with song; and it is sweet  
To mark the grazing herds and list the clown  
Urge on his ploughing team with cheering calls,  
And merry shepherds whistling toils begun,  
And hoarse tongued bird-boy whose unceasing calls  
Join the lark's ditty to the rising sun.

It should be noted, however, that Clare's skill as a painter of vivid pictures is by no means confined to inanimate nature or to animal life. Anyone who has visited the London galleries and closely observed there the delightful child pictures by Sir David Wilkie and T. K. Webster can scarcely help feeling that when

John Clare wrote "The Village Boy" he accomplished on paper the same splendid results which Wilkie and Webster have attained on canvas. Note how thoroughly human this piece of Clare's is:

Free from the cottage corner, see how wild  
 The village-boy along the pasture hies,  
 With every smell, and sound, and sight beguiled,  
 That round the prospect meets his wondering eyes:  
 Now, stooping, eager for the cowslip peeps,  
 As though he'd get them all,—now, tired of these,  
 Across the flaggy brook he eager leaps  
 For some new flower his happy rapture sees,—  
 Now, leering 'mid the bushes on his knees  
 On woodland banks, for blue-bell flowers he creeps,—  
 And now, while looking up among the trees,  
 He spies a nest, and down he throws his flowers,  
 And up he climbs with new-fed ecstasies;  
 The happiest object in the summer hours.

That Clare was a consummate nature poet no one can attempt to deny. The most his detractors can do is to make the charge—and here is a charge which has been made by more than one critic—that his nature-images form a mere catalogue, utterly lacking in artistic economy, and savoring much more of photographic literalness than of poetic beauty. The vapidity of this charge is, I hope, apparent from the quotations which I have just made; but, if it is not, I ask the reader to note that Clare's very love for nature, despite his lack of the fine selective skill of a Tennyson, endows his simple pictures with the poetic gleam. Who can regard as an uninspired, prosy cataloguer a poet who can sing in this wise?—

I love the south-west wind, or low or loud,  
 And not the less when sudden drops of rain  
 Moisten my glowing cheek from ebon cloud,  
 Threatening soft showers again,  
 That over lands new ploughed and meadow grounds,  
 Summer's sweet breath unchain,  
 And wake harmonious sounds.

. . . . .

I love to walk the fields, they are to me  
 A legacy no evil can destroy;  
 They, like a spell, set every rapture free

That cheered me when a boy.  
Play—pastime—all Time's blotting pen concealed,  
Comes like a new-born joy,  
To greet me in the field.

Is Clare to remain much longer in obscurity? I find it difficult to believe so. For I am persuaded that both as lyrist and as nature-poet he has honestly earned a higher place in literature than many of the bards whom we now delight to honor.

## The Rural Life Problem of the South\*

JOHN LEE COULTER

Expert Special Agent for Agriculture, Bureau of the Census

I have been asked to state for your consideration what I consider to be the rural life problem of the South. It would be folly for me to make believe that there is only one rural life problem. Indeed, there are many, and it therefore rests with me to try to point out *the* problem of problems which lies at the root of all others. Among the rural problems in the South are social problems, educational problems, political problems, problems concerned with the country church and other religious activities, but none of these are problems of "life or death." I shall, therefore, immediately lay aside social, religious, political and other similar questions and turn my attention at once to economic problems. Economics is the study of the struggle of the human race to make a living. In the South this struggle is more largely in rural communities than it is in any other part of the United States. This I shall take as my starting point,—the fact that the South is more largely rural than is any other part of the United States. I turn to the official reports of the United States Government and find that whereas the sixteen southern states, generally referred to as "The South," have about one-third of the total population of this country, these same states have *almost one-half of the rural population* of the country and *less than one-sixth of the urban population*. I turn again to the same reports and find that in the East South Central division of states, 81.3 per cent of the population is rural and only 18.7 per cent is urban. In the West South Central division of states the same condition prevails, 77.7 per cent being rural and only 22.3 per cent being urban. Nearly the same condition prevails in the South Atlantic division, where 74.6 per cent is rural and only 25.4 per cent is urban. Even this percentage of urban population in the South Atlantic division is because of the presence of cities like Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Md., Richmond, Va., and Atlanta, Ga. It should be noted that by the rural population I do not mean agricultural population, because the rural population includes the country merchants, doc-

\*In substance, an address delivered at the University of South Carolina, October 21, 1912.

tors, lawyers, teachers, ministers of the gospel, and many others; and also it should be noted that rural population includes all towns and villages not recognized as in the class of cities, or urban population.

In contrast to the above, I need only call attention to the fact that in the New England division of states, only 16.7 per cent of the population is rural, while 83.3 per cent is urban; and in the Middle Atlantic states, only 29.0 per cent is rural and the remaining 71.0 per cent is urban. Other parts of the United States range between the two extremes which I have stated, and I need go no further in order to make clear that the South is largely and predominantly rural, whereas many other parts of the United States are as strongly urban.

The rural South presents the most complete social problem with which the student of social conditions is confronted in this country. The rural North and the rural West have social problems because of the presence of a great variety of foreign nationalities. During recent years they have had great accessions of foreign born farmers, whereas the South has had very few of these. But the problem of mixed nationalities in the North and in the West is much simpler than the problem confronting the student of southern conditions. I must necessarily keep in mind the fact that the population of the rural South is partly white and partly colored, but, inasmuch as I believe the leading rural life problem of the South is economic and not social, political, or religious, it seems to me that I may very largely disregard the feature to which I have made reference. In the struggle for a living men must work whether they are white or black; some must be employers and others must be employees; some must direct the work and others must do the work as directed. It is true that men have not now, and probably never will have, equal foresight, equal perseverance, equal ambition, equal powers of saving, equal judgment in using, or equality in other characteristics which might readily be mentioned. We must hold in mind inequalities between man and man which do exist and which will exist, but I also insist that in dealing with the economic problems of life we must introduce the question of color as little as possible.

In order to make the study more concrete and to emphasize certain characteristics of the rural problem in the southern states, I

choose to cite a few statistics relating to the old South, east of the Mississippi River and north as far as Virginia. Having in mind this section, I call your attention to the fact that their aggregate population in 1860 was less than eight million, whereas in 1910 it exceeded sixteen million, the increase during the fifty years just passed being slightly more than 100 per cent. In contrast to this the amount of land in farms in these states was almost 162,000,000 acres in 1860 and had increased to only 164,000,000 in 1910, an increase of only 1.4 per cent. In 1860, 70.6 per cent of the total land area was in farms, whereas in 1910 this had increased only to 71.6 per cent. Thus, while the population doubled during the half century, there was practically no change in the amount of land in farms.

How then did this increase in population come about? Has the average farm family doubled, or has the number of people in rural districts not engaged in agriculture increased by leaps and bounds? Or has the number of farm families doubled, thus leaving the average farm family the same size, but reducing the amount of land per farm by one-half? The fact is, that, although the amount of land in farms changed but little during the half century, there was an increase in the number of farms from 504,000 to 1,948,000. Thus, there are now almost four times as many farms as there were in 1860. It must be clear that the size of the average farm has decreased in proportion to the increase in the number of farms. The average farm as reported in 1860 was 321 acres, while now it is 84 acres. The rural South today is as different from the rural South of fifty years ago as it is from rural communities of foreign countries. There has been a complete revolution.

In most parts of the world today, students of rural problems insist that the salvation of their respective countries depends upon the establishment of small farms and the breaking up of the large farms, but, with this breaking up of large farms and establishing of small farms, there must come new problems which are as serious as the old. With the large farm, it is true that the rural population is very greatly diffused. Farm families are far apart; intercourse is difficult; there are few people to build roads; distances are so great that telephone connection, rural mail deliveries, the hauling out of produce and the hauling in of

supplies,—all of these and many other activities are extremely difficult. Farmers get behind the times. They are unable to keep in touch with each other and with the outside world. New processes do not get a chance in such communities, and agriculture is apt to be old fashioned. But it is not necessary for me to dwell upon the problems of the large farms in the South, because the South is at the present time a section of small farms. I merely refer to the problems of the large farm in order to show what the problems of the small farm are in contrast.

In the South the introduction of the small farm has meant the breaking up of the old plantation, but it has not meant real peasant proprietorship. The southern farms are at the present time largely occupied by tenants, and here arises the most vital of the rural problems. It is at the foundation of all others. It is a peculiar, but none the less natural, characteristic of the tenant that he is not interested in the farm which he operates. The farmer who owns his land is interested in it in the same way that the parent is in the child, or the householder is in his home, or the owner of a picture is in his picture, or the owner of a new gown is in her gown. The tenant does not own that which he operates and is not any more likely to care for it than he is to dust your clothes for nothing or shine your shoes. The relationship between the tenant and the farm he operates is very often comparable to the relationship between the parent and an adopted child, or a stepchild. If it is his nature to care for everything under his charge with the greatest attention, the child will receive the best of treatment. So with the tenant. The farm will be carefully husbanded. But if it is not his nature to care for things which are not his own, the parent will not interest himself greatly in the adopted child, or stepchild, nor will the tenant in the rented land. The result of this tenant system is poor agriculture, exhausted soils, small crops, poor roads, decaying bridges, unpainted homes, and unkept yards.

Not only is the above statement one of fact, but much more might be said. The tenant farmer moves from place to place. Not only does he rob the soil, but he then moves to a new farm thinking he will find a better piece of land. Government statistics show us that nearly half of the southern tenants move each year. This is at the root of the rural school problem, the rural church

problem, and indeed all rural community problems. Tenants who change from year to year are not interested in the school or church. The children move on to a new school and to a new church. No attempt is made to systematically pass from grade to grade, and no desire is shown on the part of parents to support institutions or to beautify them, when they expect next year to be in a new community. In these and many other ways, the shifting tenant must be considered in connection with the school problem, the church problem, and indeed all social and religious problems.

The shifting tenant is much worse than the mere tenant when we are considering economic problems. A stable tenancy would be desirable and indeed would be far ahead of a hired labor system from the standpoint of tenant and farms alike, assuming that the tenants and their families could be properly educated and agriculture could be kept to a high standard of efficiency, but a shifting tenancy is worse than a hired labor system because supervision of the farm is left to the tenant under the tenant system, while supervision is in the hands of the owner under the hired labor system. It is true that under the tenancy system, the tenants themselves seem to be better off from an economic standpoint than are hired laborers, but agriculture may suffer and the loss here may far more than offset the gain which after all may be largely sentimental.

With a shifting tenant class, it is impossible to interest the farm operators in economic institutions which are absolutely essential to intelligent rural economic development. For instance, I may advocate rural credit. There are those who maintain that the rural life problem of the South is the problem of rural credit. But with a shifting tenancy one might as well talk to the winds as talk of forming rural credit societies which will be maintained successfully, and lift the rural South out of the slough into which it has drifted. I may say that co-operative stores, warehouses, creameries, cheese factories, canning factories, marketing societies, purchasing societies, and breeding associations are the salvation of the rural South. In other words, I may say that co-operation has been the blessing of European farmers; that co-operation raised them from an ignorant, thriftless peasantry into a progressive, intelligent citizenship. I may say that without co-operation,

the rural South is hopeless, but in a large part of the rural South I might as well try to move the earth as to advocate co-operation, because the great mass of the farm operators are shifting tenants. They do not stay long enough in one place to take root. They do not become thoroughly acquainted with their neighbors, and certainly without becoming thoroughly acquainted with one's neighbors, it would be ridiculous to advocate business partnership or co-operation. With a shifting tenant class, therefore, co-operation is to a very considerable extent not practicable, and when advocated must be modified in such a way as to take notice of the prevailing conditions in the district.

The shifting tenant must be a thorn, not only in the side of the school teacher, of the preacher, and of the landlord, but also of the merchant, the banker, the doctor, the lawyer, and the judge. He carries disease from place to place as well as discontent. The real fundamental problem of the rural South is, therefore, not alone the tenant, but the shifting tenant, and all interested parties should turn their attention first of all to a determination of how to destroy the present evil system. Perhaps, I should note before passing to the solution of the problem that 181,491 farms in Mississippi, or 66.1 per cent, are operated by tenants. In Georgia, 190,980, or 65.6 per cent, are in the same class. In South Carolina, the number is 111,221, or 63.0 per cent. In Alabama it is 158,326, or 60.2 per cent. In Louisiana the number is 66,607, or 55.3 per cent. In Oklahoma it is 104,137, or 54.8 per cent. In Texas there are 219,575 tenants, or 52.6 per cent of all farms, while in Arkansas, the number is 107,266, or 50.0 per cent. Please note that these states from South Carolina through to Texas are teeming with tenants. In each state more than one-half of the farms are operated by tenants, while in Mississippi, which is at the center of the group, two-thirds of the farms are in the hands of tenants. Please note further that these eight states have the highest percentage of tenants in the United States. It is not necessary to go further with this point. If additional words were necessary, I might add that North Carolina ranks next in the percentage of tenancy, and that the other southern states are extremely high as compared with the northern and western states. Excepting West Virginia, Virginia has the lowest percentage of tenancy, 26.5, among the southern states.

However, twenty-five northern and western states have a lower percentage of tenants than Virginia.

It is not enough merely to state what seems to me to be the most vital problem confronting students of the rural South. It is desirable, if possible, to offer some suggestion as to what to do about it. I do not contend that I have the only cure, and it may be that my suggestions will not work at all. I offer them to start with only as a tentative program, because it is necessary to suggest at least a program in order that others may take up the subject and work out the true solution. I base my recommendations upon experience in other countries and in other parts of our own country, and upon my knowledge of the characteristics of human nature.

*Peasant proprietorship.*—An intelligent and independent peasant proprietorship is the ideal form of land tenure. Small farms can be defended only when they are operated by their owners. Generally speaking, the small farm is not as economic a business unit as the large farm, because it is impossible to practice the larger economies such as the use of improved machinery, the ownership of the very best leaders for the herds and flocks on the farm, the application of the most scientific methods of caring for dairy products and of canning fruits and vegetables, etc. The small farmer as such is handicapped inasmuch as he can not independently operate a small farm as economically as can the large farmer, but the small farm operated by its owner is defensible although less economic than a larger farm because of the presence of the feature "ownership." With ownership present, the uneconomic characteristics of the small farm may be overcome very largely by the introduction of the fundamental principles of co-operation. Groups of farmers operating small farms, (inasmuch as they live close together on account of the smallness of the farms, and are permanently attached on account of their ownership of the farms), may, and in the long run will, if they apply intelligent principles, co-operate to own the larger and more expensive equipment. They may and will, if they apply intelligent principles, co-operate for purposes of seed selection and breeding, live stock breeding, cow testing, and the gathering of crops; as well as for marketing, manufacturing and buying. The ideal farm is the small farm operated by the owner.

There are, however, two main obstacles to the securing of this result in the southern states at the present time. One of these is the absence of the instinct of land ownership which is so highly developed in the peoples of many other countries, but which is not as highly developed among the native-born white farmers of the United States. It is an important fact to bring to your attention that whereas over 81 per cent of the foreign-born white farmers of the United States are owners, only 66 per cent of the native-born white farmers are owners. It should also be noted that whereas almost 90 per cent of the native-born white farmers in New England own their farms, only 52 per cent of those who farm in the West South Central states are owners. In contrast to the above, only 26.2 per cent of the colored farmers of the United States are owners. In large parts of Europe, land ownership is held up as the ideal condition of affairs. People instinctively seek to become land owners and are willing to do anything within reason to secure even a small parcel of land. That feeling is absent in this country to a very large extent, and for a very good reason. The fact that it is absent is not discouraging to me because the reason for its absence is rapidly passing away, and the reason for the development of such an instinct is rapidly appearing. During the last century land has been almost as free as the wind, the sun, the rain, or the fresh air. It was only necessary to go farther West, squat upon a piece of land and say, "It is mine." Land was too free. It was too easy to get. Anybody could have it, and only the foresighted understood that the time was rapidly approaching when it would not be free and when land ownership would be recognized as a great and grand institution. The time has come, however, when free land is very scarce. Land ownership is now something to work for. Land values are rapidly going higher and higher. The majority of people in this country now live in cities and are demanding food. The products of the farm are, therefore, in greater demand than ever before and they are at the same time limited in supply. The prices are better and will be still better, and the farmer who really wishes to make progress may now start with a new ambition and may reasonably expect to succeed.

The first obstacle, therefore, although in the past more or less a valid one, has no place in the present newer rural economy.

We must at once begin to teach the desirability of land ownership. Indeed, we must teach the necessity for it. We must work out the arguments in favor of it. We must present these arguments in the easiest and simplest way to the minds of those who ought to apply the principles which we here lay down. I believe that many tenants and many of their offspring will gladly take up the movement for land ownership as soon as they see the problem and understand its meaning.

The second obstacle which must be met and wrestled with in the South is the presence of the negro. The high percentage of tenancy in the South is clearly due to the presence of the negro. In 1860 and prior thereto, the size of the average farm was about four times what it is at the present time. The average farm doubtless would have remained larger had hired labor been substituted for slavery. It may be that the hired labor system would not have been as satisfactory from the viewpoint of the negro. This, however, I think has not been established, since we have not as yet any statistical proof, or indeed proof of any kind, that a man may not pass as rapidly from a successful hired laborer to ownership as from the position of share tenant to ownership, or from the position of cash tenant to ownership. Indeed, it is quite probable that if the negro were hired for a given wage and if he continued to work for some years under good instructions from the owner of the farm and learned to cultivate the soil thoroughly, to rotate crops, to care for live stock, and to operate machines, he might more easily pass from the position of hired laborer to that of a successful farm owner. Certainly from the standpoint of economic advantage he could as easily do so. As a hired laborer he doubtless could make as large an income as he now makes as tenant, and, if he had foresight and desired to become an owner, or if he had the quality known as frugality or the power of saving, it would be very easy for him in the course of a few years to become a land owner. Clearly the high percentage of tenancy in the South is due to the presence of the negro and is a substitute for the hired labor system of the North and West.

There are doubtless a few who do not want the negroes to become land owners, and there are those who own land who would not sell it to negroes. The presence of either of these classes need

not interfere even in the smallest way with the progress of the negroes or with the development of land ownership among negroes if the negro farmers qualify themselves to become land owners. There are millions of acres available for negroes or whites, Catholics or Protestants, natives or foreign-born, young men or old men. In the economic struggle, economic principles control, and social principles take a back seat. I do not speak here of the desirability of any given policy. There are those who believe that the negro farmers should concentrate in one section of the country and become owners there, and to my mind it would be to their advantage so to concentrate in groups, on account of social relations. Others advocate diffusion through the country, and still others advocate their own special ways of solving the problem. It is unnecessary here to go into any details as to the best methods of securing ownership when there are differences in color.

*Long time leases.*—I noted above that the presence of proprietorship would solve both the tenant problem and the problem of instability. Since, however, it is impossible to solve both of them in a year or a decade, and since it is desirable wherever possible to solve one of the evils if we cannot solve both, and especially, if by solving one of the evils we take a step in the direction of solving the second, I advocate as the next best thing continuous or long time leases. With a long time lease, the evil which I have described as instability will be largely overcome. The farm operator will become interested in the farm; he will cultivate it better; he will keep up the fertility; he will improve the buildings; he will desire to have fruit trees and shrubs and a garden; he will become interested in the country roads and the lane which leads to the building; he will take an interest in the neighboring school and church and lodge-room. He may even become a member of the local clubs which are organized for economic purposes. He may own a share of stock in the store, or the bank, or the creamery, or the canning factory, or the cotton warehouse, or the live stock shipping association. Indeed, he will become a part of the community. Not only is all of the above true but the long time lease will tend to develop a more honest and honorable relationship between landlord and tenant. The principles of equity will have to control. Each must give the other a square deal. The money

which is now spent moving from place to place and the losses which come to tenants in some cases and to landlords in others will be saved and will apply on the purchase price of the farm. After farming the same farm for a period of five years, and after having saved some money, the tenant is more apt to become an owner than is the tenant of today, because he has learned some of the advantages and some of the principles of ownership. The long time lease thoroughly applied, with proper penalties for failing to carry it out and with proper premiums for successful carrying out, will be a long step in the right direction.

*Hired labor system.*—I believe that the hired labor system is better than the shifting tenant system. It is better for the landlord. It is even better for the tenant than it is for the landlord. It is better for society as a whole, entirely apart from its effect upon the landlord or the tenant. I cannot here go into the various reasons for the position taken. I will state only one or two of the more important to illustrate the principles as I see them. In the first place, I believe it better for the landlord because he would be in a position to supervise the work much more than under the present system. He could and would direct every detail. He could introduce modern methods of cultivation; could rotate the crops; could introduce more machines and horsepower; could maintain the fertility of the soil; and could in many ways improve the present system of agriculture. The result of these changes if introduced would be more valuable land and farms in general and would be a larger income to the owners of the land. On the other hand it would be equally advantageous, if not more so, to the laborers who are now generally referred to as shifting tenants. In the first place, they would learn the more modern principles of agriculture; they would learn principles which if applied after they become owners would make them more prosperous than if they become owners after being for many years shifting tenants. While hired laborers, if they possessed the fundamental qualities necessary to make them in time successful men they would be able to practice the principles of frugality and foresight, and by their perseverance and ambition demonstrate their ability. Thus they would be able to secure good wages from which they might save sufficient in a few years to make them prospective land owners. After serving as hired

laborers for a short period of years, sufficient money would be available to purchase necessary farm equipment, to lease the farm for a period of five or ten years and in the meantime prepare themselves for farm ownership.

Not only would the hired labor system be an advantage over the present system from the standpoint of landlord and shifting tenant, but it would be a blessing to the country at large, because it would mean a larger and a more systematic production as well as the preservation or conservation of agricultural resources. It would make possible an improvement of the educational system, since the farm laborers would act in the capacity of apprentices in addition to receiving their wages. They would thus learn from skilled supervision the best principles, which they could later apply to advantage in their independent capacities. The country would be freed from the present evil condition of shifting and changing.

If the serious student of rural conditions and rural problems will consider this question of the shifting tenant, he will find it the foremost rural life problem of the South, and if, after studying this cursory and very brief survey of the problem, he wishes to go into greater detail, I ask only that he communicate with me. I will send him such documents, such data, such copies of leases, such copies of contracts covering the sale of land, as he may need to investigate further the problems here reviewed and to try to solve them.

I have outlined here what I consider to be the problem of problems at the root of all others. I advocate the solution of this problem not only for its own sake but in order that other problems may be solved, and I urge all thinking students to analyze this problem before going into problems which are themselves dependent upon the solution of this one.

## Was John Randolph a Lunatic?

D. HAMILTON WILLCOX, Esq.

Attorney at law, Petersburg, Va.

In dealing with a character in history of less than first importance it often chances that the reviewer will magnify virtues to command admiration or exaggerate faults to entice an interest, but John Randolph of Roanoke needs neither flattery nor vilification to make him one of the most unique figures in American history. For of him indeed the truth is as strange as fiction. Only the tumultuous and formative period in which he lived could have cradled such an intellect, or have tolerated such transgressions of conventions as were his. Honored of his country and the idol of "the most devoted constituents that man ever had," yet the dividing line between genius and lunacy was, perhaps, never less clearly defined than in his brilliant, but bizarre mind, where as between sanity and madness "the qualities are so weighed, that curiosity in neither can make choice of either's moiety."

His biographers have written him the greatest master of sarcasm, the most restless logician, and the most fearless orator that ever shook a forefinger at his opponents in the House of Representatives. But the reading of his will made some of his disappointed next-of-kin more dubious of their distinguished kinsman's normality of mind, and in consequence for five years the courts of Virginia heard various opinions given by his intimates under the issue *devisavit vel non* in the suit of *Coalter's Executor vs. Randolph's Executor*, commenced in 1840 in the County of James City and ended in 1845 in the City of Petersburg,—the case having been moved there by agreement of parties. In file No. 69 of the circuit court clerk's office of Petersburg the curious will find the yellowed papers of this posthumous inquiry into the sanity of this great champion of democracy, and rich treasures of anecdote and history will there be found recorded in the very words of men who make anecdotes interesting and history readable.

Despite the prophetic codicil of Randolph's will, which read, "As lawyers and courts of law are extremely addicted to making wills for dead men which they never have made while living, it is

my will and desire that no person who shall set aside or attempt to set aside the will above referred to shall ever inherit, possess or enjoy any part of my estate real or personal," the disinherited heirs were unterrified, and the fight was on.

Was John Randolph, as testified to by Dr. Thomas Robinson, "as mad as a psalm-singing weaver in a conventicle," or, merely, as he said of himself, "mad enough to do a foolish thing, but not too mad to follow good advice," or was he rather, as in the opinion of Mr. Nathan Lufborough, "among the most wise, honest and sagacious of his species?"

Numerous and brilliant lawyers were on the opposing sides, and more than half a hundred witnesses gave their depositions, including among other distinguished men John C. Calhoun, Thomas H. Benton, General Winfield Scott, and the members of Congress from Virginia. Testimony was taken in Washington, New York, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, in Tennessee, North Carolina, and in nearly every city of Virginia, laying bare his peculiar and melancholy life from his youth to his desolate death in the inn at Philadelphia.

A commission was issued to take the deposition of John Tyler who was then president of the United States, but it does not appear that he testified, though he may have done so in open court as did a great many witnesses who lived near Petersburg. The depositions are still perfectly preserved, and are all signed by the witnesses, making an invaluable collection of autographs. Besides the light thrown on the idiosyncrasies of Randolph the whole political history of the times is illuminated; the Clay-Randolph duel is enacted again before our eyes, and the personal episodes of the Great Commoner, as Randolph was called, are clothed with a present and a vital interest.

The will itself which was the object of attack is a very human document and indicates both the greatness and the idiosyncracy of its author. A portion only was finally established as his last will and testament, but we here quote certain portions also which were rejected as having been duly revoked,—not, however, on the ground of the insanity of the testator, he being deemed sane at the time of the writing:

In the name of God, Amen!

I, John Randolph of Roanoke do ordain this my last will and testament, hereby revoking all other wills whatsoever.

1. I give and bequeath to all my slaves their freedom, heartily regretting that I have evr been the owner of one.

2. I give to my executor a sum not exceeding eight thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to transport and settle said slaves to and in some other state or territory of the U. S., giving to all above the age of forty not less than ten acres of land each. \* \* \*

also an annual hat to Essex, my old and faithful servant. \* \* \*

I bequeath to John Randolph Clay four hundred dollars annually to complete his education, until he arrive at the age of twenty four years earnestly exhorting him never to eat the bread of idleness or dependence. \* \* \*

I give and bequeath to my friend Thomas H. Benton all that part of the tract of land that I bought of Jonathan Read's heirs that lies on the South-eastern side of Little Roanoke, containing about six hundred acres, as a mark of my regard to one whose friendship was not expressed merely in words. \* \* \*

All the rest and residue of my estate real or personal I leave to my executor William Leigh hereby directing that no inventory or appraisement be made of my estate and that no security be required of my executor for the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in him. His own character being the best security and where that is wanting all else is unavailing.

In a portion of his will not here quoted he devised certain of his property to two of his life-long friends, Francis Scott Key, the author of "The Star Spangled Banner," and Bishop William Meade, the most celebrated divine of Virginia at the time, in trust for the benefit of the slaves that he had manumitted in the clause above quoted. These provisions of his will also subsequently became the subject of litigation when the good citizens of Ohio contested the colonizing there of the freed men in accordance with the directions of the testator.

Certainly no man can quarrel with the eminent wisdom, humanity, and perspicacity of this document, exhibiting, as it does, keenness in judgment of the character of men, kindness of heart towards those unfortunate humans who had come to him in bondage by inheritance, and foresight and justice in dealing with the question of slavery, the lack of which in other men forty years later threw our country into fratricidal strife.

We begin to see some ground for the contention of the disinherited heirs, however, when we read the following preamble to another will of his which was offered in evidence:

In the name of God, Amen! I John Randolph of Roanoke, being of feeble and precarious health, but of sound mind and memory, not expecting to survive this day do ordain this instrument of writing (written with my

own Iron pen on English paper) I the above named Randolph do constitute and ordain this to be my last will and testament, as nothing is held sacred in this land of Fanaticks and Pagans, and Infidels and Jews, of the circumcision and the uncircumcision (see St. Paul's epistles) and "Turks and Jews and Infidels" in the litany of our church, that is the Church of *England* and not "*The Protestant Episcopal Church of The United States of America*", which not being founded on the true rock and not being baptised with fire, which is the spirit of God sealing his own,—see those sealed in the Revelations, 12000 Jews and 12000 of each denomination. God foresaw that they who were left free would not keep the faith, but he did not cause it. The beasts not having reason to restrain them to prevent a jumble of all beast creation, God put this barrier that they should not breed.

A resumé of some of the important facts of Randolph's life may add light to this discussion. He was born at "Cawsions," Prince George County, Virginia, on the second day of June, 1773, of the most distinguished and aristocratic parentage, numbering among his ancestors John Rolfe and the Princess Pocahontas.

He was the foreman of the grand jury which indicted Aaron Burr for treason against his country. From 1800 to 1829 he was, with the exception of one term, a member of Congress, serving his state with distinction and ability both in the lower house and in the Senate. While in the House of Representatives he was the leader of the Republican (now the Democratic) party and was generally regarded as the ablest debater of the era, it being said that his powers of sarcasm and repartee have never been surpassed. His speeches were more widely reported than those of any other orator of the day, and his prominence and personality brought to him the devoted attachment of Andrew Jackson, Nathaniel Macon, John C. Calhoun, and Thomas H. Benton.

Randolph went as a delegate from his home county of Charlotte to the famous constitutional convention of Virginia of 1829-30, which was with little doubt the ablest body of men ever assembled for the purpose of making laws. Madison, Monroe, Tyler, John Marshall, Philip R. Barbour, Abel P. Upshur and Benjamin Watkins Leigh were all members of this assembly, yet to John Randolph of Roanoke, in avowed testimony of the appreciation of him by his fellow members as the most eminent and distinguished delegate, was accorded the honor of delivering the closing address in this convention of which Judge Tucker once said: "There is more law contained in the Bible, Aesop's Fables

and the debates of the Virginia Convention of 1829-30 than in all the law books combined."

In contemplating such honors in the life of Randolph it comes upon us to heed the words of the poet Whittier dedicated to him:

"Shut out from him the bitter word  
And serpent hiss of scorning;  
Nor let the storms of yesterday  
Disturb his quiet morning.  
Breathe over him forgetfulness  
Of all save deeds of kindness,  
And, save to smiles of grateful eyes,  
Press down his lids in blindness."

But the shadows of his melancholy affliction only make the light of his fame more brilliant.

Turning to the depositions of the witnesses in the famous will case we read strange things. We hear from one witness that he got drunk on beverages "taken freely upon the floor of the Senate;" others tell us that he had a way of going around with a small bell in his hand, which he would ring, and repeat slowly and solemnly as it tinkled: "It is all over;" that even in early life he would ride pell-mell over his plantation at all hours of the night with a sword in his hand, vowing that people were trespassing in his fields, when only the night owl and the stealthy fox were abroad; that frequently friends were invited to his house only to find on their arrival that his gates were barred against them. We hear stories of his maniacal and unoccassioned fits of anger, and how one night when in a rage of this sort he stuck a dining fork through the ear of a little negro slave, inflicting a painful injury. We learn that at times he claimed to be possessed of supernatural powers and that once he remarked to an intimate friend who was dining with him that by uttering a cabalistic word he could blow up the house; to which mysterious confidence the friend very prudently replied: "I hope you will defer the act until I have dined and departed."

A tavern keeper relates that Mr. Randolph drove up to his inn at midday dressed in a night gown, having travelled several miles in this costume. A fellow member of Congress tells us of an occasion when Randolph left his host's house while the sun was shining and compelled one of the servants to go before him down the streets of Washington bearing two lighted candles, and

yet this peculiar genius was the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. At another time while he was a member of Congress he most insultingly commanded General Taylor to go and get Mr. Tazewell out of bed one morning before day-break and told him that if he did not go: "I will go myself and pull him out in his shirt tail." Can we imagine our present chairman of that great committee doing such things? Many other amusing incidents indicative of a thoroughly disordered brain were related of him, too numerous, and some of them too obscene, to be recounted here.

In his latter days he became very fearful of harm at the hands of imaginary enemies and would go and stay at his neighbors' houses if he could get no one to stay with him; and yet, in this same period of his life he was warned that if he went into Buckingham County to speak he would do so at the risk of his life. But he went and addressed these remarks to the large audience which had gathered to hear him speak: "I understand that I am to be insulted today if I attempt to address the people,—that a mob is prepared to lay their rude hands upon me and drag me from the hustings for daring to exercise the rights of a free-man! My Bible teaches me that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, but that the fear of man is consummation of folly", and then proceeded undisturbed with his speech.

In the mass of testimony we find various views as to his sanity. Dr. Samuel Merry and Dr. Thomas Robinson, two physicians of high standing who had attended Mr. Randolph during his life, both testified that they regarded him as a hopeless lunatic, the insanity being induced by religious mania; his harangues on religion being frequent and oftentimes wild, incoherent, and maudlin. On the other hand, Thomas Benton complimented his genius and ability and compared his last appearance in the Senate, when he was carried in an arm chair, to Lord Chatham's last visit to the House of Lords. John C. Calhoun testified that: "Mr. Randolph was generally regarded as a man of remarkable genius and great ability, with uncommon sagacity and keenness in debate and distinguished colloquial powers." Surely an ancient and honorable conflict between expert witnesses and mere men!

The verdict of the jury in the case established his sanity as of the time of making the will and executing certain codicils, but a

calm perusal of the depositions in this old case will leave no doubt in unbiased minds that John Randolph of Roanoke suffered lapses of mind during his whole life, and finally in his twilight days fulfilled the sad prophecy contained in those lines which Mr. Benton testified that this erratic genius repeated so often in allusion to himself:

"In life's last scenes what prodigies surprise  
Fears of the brave and follies of the wise;  
When from Marlborough's eyes streams of dotage flow  
And Swift expires a driveller and a show."

Yet when on the hither side of the dividing line, his was one of the most powerful, scintillating, and versatile minds among that band of statesmen and patriots that builded so well in the formative period of our government the most magnificent structure that has ever housed the rights of a free people, and, if he was mad, then well may we pray for more of such madmen to preserve those rights.

And let us in contemplating the two sides of his life remember the Randolph motto: "*Nil admirari*", and with Whittier say to his native soil which shields his body,

"Fold softly in thy long embrace  
That heart so worn and broken  
And cool its pulse of fire beneath  
Thy shadows old and oaken."

## BOOK REVIEWS

**THE NEGRO IN PENNSYLVANIA. SLAVERY-SERVITUDE-FREEDOM, 1639-1861.** By Edward Raymond Turner. Washington: The American Historical Association, 1912,—xii, 314 pp.

This monograph won the Justin Winsor prize awarded by the American Historical Association in 1910. It is, perhaps, the best of the studies of the negro in the several states that has so far been published. Dr. Turner consulted a large amount of material and apparently made good use of it. If we are ever to have a dependable account of slavery in America and of the negroes who lived in the period during which slavery existed, much patient, plodding labor will have to be expended upon local court records, newspapers, and pamphlets. Moreover, the negro was dealt with by each of the states in a little different manner. Consequently, before the story of the American negro can be told with any degree of authority or finality, we must have separate accounts of the methods used by each of the states concerned in dealing with this perplexing question. Pennsylvania occupies a unique position, since it was the first state having a considerable number of negroes to undertake emancipation. Dr. Turner lays stress upon this aspect of his subject and calls attention to some interesting facts in connection with it.

After an account of the introduction of negroes into Pennsylvania, Professor Turner describes in turn the legal status of the slaves, the social and economic aspects of slavery, and the breaking up of the institution. He shows in a rather striking manner that emancipation under the act of 1780 was a gradual process, involving successively servitude and a species of apprenticeship before freedom was finally attained by the negroes. The author is next concerned with the legal status and social life of free negroes. Finally he points out the paradoxical fact that whereas there was a constantly growing opposition to slavery in Pennsylvania, there was at the same time, due in part to the influx of negroes from the South, a constantly growing race prejudice among the whites, which caused them to mete out rather harsh treatment to the negroes they desired to set free. In other words, Pennsylvanians disliked the free negroes quite as much as they detested slavery.

Professor Turner has given numerous citations from varied sources to support his assertions on these subjects, and he has made a decided advance both in thoroughness of research and in method of presentation over the studies of negroes in specific localities which have been previously published. There are a few points, however, which seem open to question. For example, his attempt to transpose the accepted usage of the terms "abolitionism" and "anti-slavery" (Chapter XII.) is likely to do little more than create confusion, and his arguments on this point are not entirely convincing. Moreover, for a stickler in the matter of terms Dr. Turner makes a decidedly questionable use of the phrase "social equality" in discussing the relations between the races. Does social equality necessarily mean intermarriage? In spite of these and other minor points Professor Turner deserves congratulation for having done well a rather tedious and difficult task.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

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A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, By William B. Cairns. New York: Oxford University Press, 1912,—502 pp.

In "A History of American Literature" Professor Cairns has succeeded admirably in his undertaking, that of tracing within reasonable compass the course of literary development in America. Correctly holding that American literature contains few masterpieces *per se*, he has stressed in his book the primal importance of this literature as an expression of national life and has studied it from this point of view. Thus studied, even obscure and essentially commonplace authors deserve a consideration that general historians of literature cannot give to them. And one must admit the correctness of this viewpoint. Surely it betrays no lack of patriotism for a man to estimate correctly the quality of American literature. It is probably true that great harm has already been done through short-sighted, partisan criticism.

But the author has done far more than merely provide a manual for the use of college classes, however helpful his book surely will prove for such a purpose, for it is the outgrowth of what one feels must have been very successful teaching. The general reader also will find the book a valuable addition to his library, for not only does it contain brief mention of obscure writers of interest,

but it also provides, often in condensed but clear form, most valuable and sensible definitions of literary movements and tendencies, and fair-minded, clean-cut, critical estimates of men and books. One often has to wade through pages of histories of literature to acquire such information. Thus, the brief discussion of transcendentalism probably puts the movement as concretely before us as is possible; while the discussion of Emerson is sane and just. And Whitman, the most difficult of American writers to appreciate, is treated most sensibly by Professor Cairns. Furthermore, the book is certainly not partisan or sectional in its judgment. All writers, from whatever section they come, receive probably just treatment and due consideration; and in this respect the book is superior to most other histories of American literature.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

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**ENGLISH LYRICAL POETRY. FROM ITS ORIGINS TO THE PRESENT TIME.**

By Edward Bliss Reed. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Henry Frowde. Oxford University Press. 1912.—616 pp.

This book by Professor Reed fulfills a long felt desire among lovers of literature. Lyric poetry has always been the favorite form of literature with the majority of the race, but owing to the nature of the subject there has been little definite writing concerning it. Hitherto there has been no general history of English lyrical poetry, and therefore the volume by Professor Reed is of more than usual interest. His aim is to give a brief survey of the whole field, tracing the influence of foreign authors upon English poetry, analyzing the elements that enter into the various periods of lyrical outburst, tracing the expression of national thought in the products of the times, and calling attention to the intrinsic value of the more important lyric groups and individual lyrics.

Beginning with as clear a definition of lyric poetry as one might be expected to give, Mr. Reed shows by his analysis of the lyric that he is fully conscious of the nature of the task that he has undertaken. With this definitely in mind he enters into the study of the early lyric of the language and points out the elements in the literature of the Anglo-Saxons that are strictly lyrical. He follows this with a discussion of the Middle-English lyric and its

reflection of the ideas and ideals of the Troubadours. Profuse quotations indicate and illustrate the nature of the songs of the period, and the development of the lyrical feeling is traced through the Tudor Period, with its reflection of the love poetry of the Italians, on to the "spacious times of Great Elizabeth".

Perhaps no chapter of the book reveals more clearly the mind of the scholar than the discussion of the Elizabethan lyric. Amid all of the voluminous writing on the subject it would be hard to find a better insight into the spirit of the times, or a better summary of its literary tendencies. This study furnishes a concise yet comprehensive discussion of the various forms of the lyric, the sonnet-sequences, the lyrics from the dramas, the song-books, and the miscellanies. Not only does the author furnish a valuable amount of technical information, but he shows the spirit of the poetry, the vein of sadness that underlies the apparent gayety, and the insurpassable melody of the verse.

In his discussion of the nineteenth century lyric Mr. Reed again looms up strong. This period of literature is so well known to the average student that the work is of less value merely as a source of information, but Mr. Reed shows no less clearly that he has a complete insight into the lyrical expression of the age. The lofty sentiment, the melody, the artistic mode of expression of the masters of verse are well shown.

The book closes with a discussion of the lyric of today and with a resumé that indicates that the author has gone sympathetically, understandingly, and yet in a scholarly way, into all of the main trends of thought and feeling of the men who have made our songs. The book is of sufficient interest to all lovers of poetry to appeal to the reading public, but it is also technical enough to serve well all class-room demands. H. E. SPENCE.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE FUTURE. By S. S. Heberd. New York: Maspeth Publishing House, 1911.—251 pp.

To the student of philosophy the title of this book is an attractive-sounding one, and yet the very vastness of its implied promise raises a suspicion in the mind of the reader. We are told at the outset that "modern philosophy is tormented by one very grievous malady. Its criticism has destroyed the old criteria of

truth, but has never been able to put anything else in their place; it has torn down, but knows not how to rebuild." Then a simple thesis is laid down, and we are promised that the establishing of this thesis will prove a cure for all philosophical ills. This thesis is: "The sole, essential function of all thinking, as contrasted with feeling, is to discriminate between cause and effect." The aim of the book seems to be to solve the problem of causation and to restore the category of causality to its proper place. In the main body of the book one gets the impression that the author is trying to show that his causal principle is the solver of all problems; but in a supplementary chapter, in answer to some of his critics, he denies that this is true. But, without any convincing proof of this thesis and with practically no exposition of its meaning, he applies it to most of the leading problems of philosophy without much illumination of their darker recesses.

One cannot read this book without being impressed with the wide reading of the author, but one cannot help feeling that he has read widely and captiously rather than deeply and sympathetically. The book, however, is well worth reading; and, when you have read it once, you will find a desire to read it again.

W. I. CRANFORD.

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**FATIGUE AND EFFICIENCY.** A Study in Industry. By Josephine Goldmark. Russell Sage Foundation Publication. New York: Charities Publication Committee,—1912. Two volumes in one. Part I, xvii, 302 pp. Part II, ii, 591 pp. Postpaid, \$3.50.

During the present winter the legislatures of North Carolina and of many other states will be called upon to enact laws regulating hours and conditions of labor. This book aims to present a new basis for such legislation in a study of the effects of fatigue upon working people. Such a basis of legislation has been almost wholly absent in the past. Now it is proposed to draw upon physiological, chemical, and psychological science for aid in solving the practical problems of the day.

The study of the effects of fatigue upon workers is presented in a way not too technical for the ordinary reader. Evidence is presented of the injurious effects of the nerve strain involved in many industries, such for instance as the telephone service. There is also a discussion of the relation of overwork to infant mortality, the birth-rate, and race degeneration. The chapter on the en-

forcement of labor laws should be commended to the attention of the legislatures of those states which have put restrictions on the statute books without providing any adequate means of inspection and enforcement. Another timely chapter is that on women's night work. One is disagreeably surprised to find how far behind the principal European countries our own states are in the prohibition of this highly injurious form of labor. It will surprise many legislators to know that the prohibition of women's night work was considered of enough importance to be made the subject of an international conference and treaty between most of the European nations.

Miss Goldmark's book is also valuable for the evidence afforded that the shortening of working hours has not had the disastrous consequences which were often predicted. Labor costs have at times increased, but in general there has been a strong counter-acting influence in the increased efficiency of workers in a shorter day. Another matter gone into is the distinction between ordinary speeding in industry and the new science of management for efficiency. The danger of the perversion of scientific management to injurious exploitation by unscrupulous managers is pointed out.

The second part of the book consists of the material contained in four briefs submitted by Mr. Louis D. Brandeis and Miss Goldmark to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Supreme Courts of Illinois and Ohio. These briefs, amounting in all to 563 pages, aimed to present to the courts the world's experience upon which legislation limiting the hours of labor for women is based. In four of the five cases in which these briefs were offered, the courts sustained the labor laws in question. The fifth case had not been decided at the time this volume was published. The wealth of material here gathered from many countries and from the most eminent scientific authorities is exceeding valuable. It should be in the hands of all advocates of reasonable hours for women, with no night labor. As a whole, this volume should convince fair minded employers of the necessity and justice of legislation to safeguard the health and efficiency of working men and working women.

W. H. G.

**ENGLISH FICTION.** From the Fifth to the Twentieth Century. By Carl Holliday. New York: The Century Company, 1912—xvi, 445 pp.

The statement in the preface, that this book, written purposely in popular style and with as little delay on merely scholarly details as possible, is an attempt to show the development of English story-telling from the fifth to the twentieth century and that it might, with some appropriateness, be called a study of the story-telling instinct among the English people, is a fairly good summary in brief form of the aim and accomplishment of Professor Holliday's work.

The first four of the eight chapters cover the centuries from the coming of the Teutons into England to the death of Chaucer. These chapters contain interesting accounts of practically all the stories in prose and poetry of the Old English period; of the conquest and influence of the Normans; of the origin, spread, and influence of the cycles of romance. Chapter five is given to a discussion of the fiction of the Elizabethan age—the Renaissance influences, the rise and spread of Euphuism, Arcadianism, character-writing—and of the influence of French romances during the Restoration. In chapter six there is a very good exposition of the social, political, and religious conditions existing during the first half of the eighteenth century and a discussion of the writers of fiction of that century. The seventh chapter discusses nineteenth-century fiction from Jane Austen to Stevenson, while the eighth is devoted to a study of the fiction of the present century.

In his prefatory note to the volume, Professor Charles W. Kent writes concerning the work: "By seeing the end from the beginning [the author] has kept himself from being diverted from his high purpose. . . . In spite of the irreconcilable variety of material, the transitions have been, in the main, skilfully made." This statement is quite true, and herein lie both the merit and the defects of the work: by "seeing the end from the beginning," the author has preserved unity throughout his book, and, by a generalizing method, he has been able to put into the volume an immense amount of very interesting and useful material. But in his effort to make transitions from age to age or from one writer to another and to show at each step the influences which produced change and affected subsequent productions (a very commendable effort), the writer's generalizing method often led him into sweeping generalizations and a seem-

ing cocksureness of which he was doubtless unconscious, in his effort to pass easily over questions which scholars have not been able to settle and which probably can never be decided conclusively; this method of asserting as fact what has been merely hypothesized might be very misleading to the serious worker, and it makes the book liable to serious criticism. However, the volume will prove to be a very stimulating and helpful, as well as entertaining, guide in the hands of the general student of English fiction, and it should have a wide sale. It deserves much better paper and binding than has been put into it.

The book is provided with an index and a bibliography of twenty pages.

FRANK C. BROWN.

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THE NEW MARKET CAMPAIGN, MAY, 1864. By Edward Raymond Turner.  
Richmond: Whitted and Shepperson, 1912,—xiv, 203 pp.

The engagement at New Market, Virginia, although one of the minor battles of the Civil War, was of immediate importance because the invasion of the Shenandoah Valley, one of the essential features of Federal strategy in 1864, was temporarily checked. The conflict finds a larger interest, however, in the local history of Virginia. At the critical moment the scale of victory was turned in favor of the Confederates by the brave charge of less than 300 cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, who had left the class-room to join the Confederate army just three days before the battle. The story of their heroism became one of the honored traditions of the Institute. Naturally fiction became mingled with truth, legend with fact, until the real services of the cadets became obscured. Some years ago Captain Henry A. Wise, one of the teachers and officers of the cadets, collected considerable material for writing a narrative of the battle; likewise Captain Edgar, who commanded a Virginia battalion at New Market. There was a feeling that an impartial non-participant could best organize the materials collected and tell the story. The task was entrusted to Professor Turner of the University of Michigan.

As a study in military and local victory, the volume has certain noteworthy characteristics. Every statement is supported by reference to the sources, many of the sources being quoted in the footnotes. In marshaling the evidence, unusual critical acumen is shown; facts are distinguished from legends and the real ser-

vice of the cadets is made clear. The supplementary essays in the appendix also add to the value and interest of the book. They discuss the strength of the opposing armies, the commanding generals, the respective positions of the armies during the battle, and the legendary and questionable activities of the cadets. There is also a bibliography of fourteen pages, nearly all of primary sources in manuscript. The illustrations and maps are both appropriate and very helpful.

These features make Professor Turner's study of "The New Market Campaign" resemble a university monograph rather than the average work in local military history of the Civil War. If similar examination of some of the other controversies over military history could be made by impartial and trained investigators, much might be accomplished toward finding the truth and clarifying general historical opinion.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

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**NORTH CAROLINA POEMS.** Edited by Eugene Clyde Brooks. Published by *North Carolina Education*. Raleigh, 1912,—xiv, 160 pp. Cloth, \$1.00 postpaid.

North Carolinians at home and abroad will welcome this attractive volume of poems by sons and daughters of their native state. If North Carolina has not produced a great poet, she can nevertheless boast of many minor writers who touch with grace the tuneful lyre. And some of these writers, in occasional poems, have achieved the expression of exalted sentiment in lines of distinction and beauty.

It was a happy thought to make this collection of selected North Carolina poems for the use of the school and college students of the state. Professor Brooks has chosen the poems, provided them with necessary explanatory notes, and has given a concise biographical sketch of each writer represented. In all thirty-seven poets are admitted to the select circle. In dealing with so many details, a few errors, typographical and others, have crept into the text, but these will doubtless be corrected in a later edition. Possibly also revision will result in the omission of some poems and the inclusion of others. A useful index has been provided by Mr. W. F. Marshall, who is also responsible for the pleasing form and typographical appearance of the volume. An inexpensive edition in paper is published for school use, while

the cloth edition should prove an acceptable gift to any one interested in the Old North State.

The excellence of some of the poems collected by Professor Brooks is illustrated by Miss Sue M. Whitaker's "Finis":

What, here so soon?  
 Sunset and night?  
 Why, I have work to do that needs the noon  
 And day's broad light!  
 See! On the palette, there, the colors are but set,  
 The canvas still unwet  
 And it is night!  
 How shall it rise—  
 That heavenly strain—  
 On heavenly wings, to woo the listening skies  
 To earth again?  
 While lies the violin here, untouched, unstrung;  
 Its sweetest song unsung  
 And it is night!  
 How sweet 'twould be—  
 My work all done—  
 To sit at eve, my threshold on, and see  
 Stars, one by one,  
 Flash into the dark heaven. Oh, happy rest!  
 My folded hands, how blest  
 But—'tis already night!

W. H. G.

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**THE MODERN HOUSEHOLD.** By Marion Talbot and Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge. Boston: Whitcomb and Barrows, 1912,—viii, 93 pp. \$1.00 net postpaid.

This little volume marks a distinct advance in the study of the household as a living organism. Sociologists have set forth many theories as to the family, and economists are giving more and more attention to the theory of consumption as it concerns the household. This book is really a study of household administration. The authors distinguish household management from the management of an ordinary business enterprise by the fact that "the household is not a form of organization whose purpose is pecuniary profit. It must surely be run on a basis which means that the expenditure shall not exceed the income and the amount of money invested shall not be greater than the value of the goods bought. But the returns from scientific house-

hold management must also be in terms of comfort, satisfaction, enjoyment, growth, education, and individual and group efficiency. These are reasons which give ample scope for processes which are not purely mechanical, but demand judgment, discretion, forethought, and, in fact, rather rare ability."

It may be said of this work that it emphasizes the dignity and responsibility of household administration and shows its vital social importance. Its authors are not willing longer to have the management of home considered as a matter of individual concern only. We find in the volume chapters on shelter, food, clothing, domestic service, education, and other concerns of the household. The book should serve admirably as a basis for the discussion of household problems in women's clubs and similar organizations as well as in academic classes. A valuable feature is the selected bibliography appended to each chapter.

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**RAILWAY TRANSPORTATION. A History of its Economics and of its Relation to the State.** By Charles Lee Raper. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Son's, 1912,—xi, 391 pp.

Professor Raper has made an important contribution to the scientific study of railway transportation. This book professes to be based upon the work of President Hadley of Yale University written twenty-seven years ago. But an examination of Doctor Raper's study shows that it is so largely new in its scope and contents as to be far more than a revision and enlargement of the former work. The new volume deserves to stand upon an independent footing. It contains a systematic account of the problems of railway transportation in Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, and the United States. Evidently the author has given especial attention to the investigation of traffic conditions and systems of rate-making both at home and abroad. His study of the results of government operation of railroads in European countries is not favorable to public management. He concludes that government operation has not furnished particularly cheap or efficient service, that, in general it has not paid all of its expenses, and that in Great Britain and the United States it is not needed to supply the lack of railway facilities or to correct abuses under private management.

A feature of Dr. Raper's book of timely interest is the discussion of the parcels-post. His study of European conditions leads him

to anticipate fair success for the extension of the parcels-post service in the United States. While the Sherman anti-trust law is mentioned in one of the chapters of the book, the reader is surprised to find that there is no discussion of it in the section of the work devoted to national control of railway transportation. Surely the federal government has exercised an important control over railroad consolidation by prosecutions under the Sherman law and by the subsequent readjustment of the relations of important railroads. Witness the Northern Securities case and also the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court requiring the Union Pacific railroad to divest itself of control of the Southern Pacific railway system. While Dr. Raper's book lacks something of the readability of President Hadley's, it contains in convenient form so much valuable information of recent date that it will prove for serious students a welcome addition to the literature of railway transportation.

W. H. G.

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EASTER. (A play in three acts) and Stories. Translated from the Swedish of August Strindberg by Velma Swanston Howard, Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Company, 1912.—263 pp.

It is a service of no small value that Mrs. Howard is rendering in her excellent translations of the works of Strindberg. In the original Swedish they are inaccessible to most Americans, and yet they surely merit careful study both because of the striking personality of the author and because of their intrinsic merit and wide influence. The volume "Easter" is probably not one of the best. The short prose play from which it takes its name, however, cannot be fairly judged from a mere reading; it must be first seen with careful stage-setting and with each act introduced with the proper selection from Haydn's music, "The Seven Last Words from the Cross". The impression then made must no doubt be remarkable, and exactly what the author has striven to make.

Like most of Ibsen's prose plays, "Easter" has no plot to speak of, but gives a situation rather resulting from an action preceding the opening of the play. As the name suggests, we have in the end, as the result of influences brought to bear on the main character, a sort of resurrection. Elis, a young teacher, who has come to believe himself so hemmed in by manifold misfortunes not of his own making as to make manly effort useless, is finally compelled to realize that many of his worst difficulties are imagi-

nary or at least surperable through brave unselfish conduct. The play is wholesome and uplifting in its appeal, though neither beautiful nor striking to read.

Of the short stories in this volume the allegorical "Midsummertide" is the most striking. Both in phrasing and imagery it is excellent. The theme is that contentment in life is due largely to one's surroundings, and that death is after all only the kind friend to the sad and forsaken. The short "Half a Sheet of Paper", though unnatural in a way, is a fine example of a telling effect produced through concentration. "The Secrets of the Tobacco Shed" handles an old theme in a new way and may serve as an example of Strindberg's humor.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

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**THE AMERICAN MEDITERRANEAN.** By Stephen Bonsal. Illustrated. With maps. New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1912,—xiv, 488 pp. \$3.00 net.

**SOUTH AMERICA.** Observations and Impressions. By James Bryce. With maps. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912,—xxiv, 611 pp. \$2.50 net.

The possession of Porto Rico, the close relations to Cuba, and the construction of the Panama canal have in recent years drawn the attention of the people of the United States to the islands and countries to the southward. To most North Americans the Caribbean world has been scarcely better known than that of the China Sea, and many populous West Indian islands have been but names. Our growing curiosity about our tropical neighbors will find wholesome gratification in Mr. Bonsal's "American Mediterranean". This work is part history and part romance, and, because of its maps and several appendixes, is most valuable for reference purposes. It includes the islands of the Caribbean with chapters on Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela. The account of the despotic rule in Venezuela of Don Cipriano Castro seems very timely in view of the cold reception now being given that exiled ruler by the United States government at Ellis Island.

Just as Ambassador Bryce's coming retirement is announced, his publishers issue his volume of impressions and observations of South America. This opens with a chapter on the Isthmus of Panama and gives particular attention to Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. Other chapters contain impres-

sions of the economic resources, growth of nationality, social organization, race relations, and political life of South America. As we approach closer relations with our southern neighbors, we are fortunate in having so experienced and judicious an observer to interpret them to us. Especially interesting is the discussion of the fusion of European and African races in Brazil "proceeding unchecked by law or custom." Ambassador Bryce does not venture to predict the ultimate effect of the intermixture of blood, but says that "the result is so far satisfactory that there is little or no class friction." The volume is indispensable to one who seeks an understanding of Latin American civilization. It also reflects light on many of our own social and political problems.

W. H. G.

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**THE MILK QUESTION.** By M. J. Rosenau. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912,—xiv, 309 pp. \$2.00 net.

Professor Rosenau's work on the milk question deals with a subject which concerns an audience wider than that usually interested in book reviews. The purity of the milk supply is now known to have so important a relation to morbidity and mortality that no household can afford to ignore the problems involved in the production and marketing of milk. Dr. Rosenau delivered the substance of the volume as a series of lectures at Northwestern University on the N. W. Harris Foundation. Among the many topics discussed are: milk as a food; diseases caused by infected milk; clean milk; pasteurization; infant mortality; and methods of bringing milk from the farm to the consumer. The book is generously illustrated and furnished with a comprehensive list of references. Professor Rosenau's study of the subject impresses one with its importance and breadth. It is a notable contribution to scientific literature, presented in a popular and readable way. To the intelligent mother and household manager these chapters will be of the greatest interest and value. They will also be most helpful to dairymen, physicians, and sanitarians.

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**CEASE FIRING.** By Mary Johnston. With illustrations by N. C. Wyeth, Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912,—ix. 457 pp.

Under the title "Cease Firing" the author of "The Long Roll" tells her remarkable story of the latter part of the Civil War.

Gettysburg and the siege of Vicksburg fill the opening chapters. Besides vividness and dramatic quality, Miss Johnston's descriptions of these battle scenes have a precision which must have required exhaustive study. Her book is a series of brilliant war pictures rather than an ordinary novel. There is in the book a well written love story in which many of the characters of "The Long Roll" appear again. This love story, however, is secondary to Miss Johnston's powerful descriptions of siege and battle and prison. The work is marked throughout by the author's sympathy for the South, but she does not fail to give due recognition to the nobility and courage displayed by soldiers of the North. The publication of this volume is a fitting prelude to the approaching celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg.

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**THE BEN GREET SHAKESPEARE.** For Young Readers and Amateur Players. *The Merchant of Venice; As You Like It.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company. 1912.

These two plays, published in separate volumes, are illustrated with frontispieces in color and numerous drawings in black and white to make clear to amateur performers the stage-settings, the method of entrance and exit of players, and the actors' attitudes and positions in the scenes. The text appears on the right-hand pages throughout the volumes; on those opposite are printed the drawings and directions for the actors. The editor has added no other notes. The volumes, bound in art-cloth, with inside cover-pages in colors, are very attractive.

FRANK C. BROWN.

## NOTES AND NEWS

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The need for information with regard to the scholarship system established under the will of Cecil Rhodes in 1902 has brought about the publication of a work on "The Rhodes Scholarships" by Dr. George R. Parkin, who is the organizing secretary of the Rhodes Scholarship Trust. This book gives a brief outline of the life and achievements of the founder of the trust, furnishes practical information with regard to the method of selecting the scholars, and includes valuable chapters on life at Oxford and on the educational system of that university. As a whole, the work will be indispensable to future scholars and candidates for scholarships, and also to the committees of selection in the various states. In general, the book is interesting for the insight it gives into English university life as compared with that of American universities. It will appeal to all who are concerned with higher education. (Houghton Mifflin Company, \$2.00 net.)

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Professor Collier Cobb of the University of North Carolina has recently issued a valuable reprint of his article on the forests of North Carolina which originally appeared in the *North Carolina Booklet*. Professor Cobb's paper discusses in a readable way the character of the forests in the different parts of the state, and emphasizes the importance of forest preservation in its effects on the future welfare of the people.

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The "Boy Scout" movement in America is already giving rise to an extensive literature. Thousands of boys are eager to be instructed in the mysteries of woodcraft and campfire. Mr. Ernest Thompson Seton has just published a stout volume entitled "The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore", which ought to delight any boy's heart. The young scout who makes this book his guide will be a model of bravery, honesty, temperance, and courtesy. He will be well informed in all sorts of Indian lore, will be able to take care of himself at home or in camp, will have a store of practical information about common trees, plants, and animals, and will be versed in simple methods of giving first aid to the sick or injured. The work is first class reading for a boy, and

he may find that his father likes it almost as well as he does.  
(Doubleday, Page and Company, \$1.75 net.)

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Much has been written in newspapers and magazines as to the work of the institution established at Freeville, N. Y., for the education and reformation of boys and girls, known as the George Junior Republic. The original republic proved so successful that similar communities have been established in other parts of the United States. Now, Mr. W. R. George, the founder of the original republic, and Mr. Lyman Beecher Stowe have published a book entitled "Citizens Made and Remade," which describes the development and success of this reformatory institution. All those interested in the saving of children from lives of failure and crime and in their preparation for useful places in the world will find the story of the Junior Republic most inspiring and helpful.  
(Houghton Mifflin Company, \$1.25 net.)

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Messrs. Doubleday, Page and Company have recently published several important novels. "The Soddy," by Sarah Comstock, is a sympathetic study of pioneer life in the semi-arid West of today. Its author spent some time in the region where sod houses shelter patient and hardy settlers who are seeking to win economic independence under conditions often difficult and discouraging. The story depicts a striking phase of American life and has vitality that merits more than passing interest. "The Man Who Bucked Up," by Arthur Howard, is published as the fact story of a young man, educated and of wealthy family, who became dissipated, disgraced, and discouraged. The story tells how he reformed, established a newspaper in a Massachusetts city, fought the political "bosses," and finally was elected mayor of the city. Courage, resourcefulness, and a sense of humor mark the narrative. "The Royal Road," by Alfred Ollivant, is the life history of a poor English workingman, who fell victim to disease and was tossed aside by industrial society after a life of faithful effort. The book is calculated to make one think of the defects of an industrial system which rejects worn out and disabled workers as coldly as it throws old machines on the scrap pile. The characters in the work are marked by tremendous realism and make a strong impression on the reader's mind. "The Lure of Life," by Agnes and Egerton Castle, is another work from the same

publishers. This is the semi-romantic story of a young recluse and scholar who suddenly finds himself through a turn of fortune master of a great English estate. His peculiar love affairs are made into an interesting novel.

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In his biennial report to the Governor of North Carolina, State Superintendent of Public Instruction J. Y. Joyner strongly recommends that the present legislature make provision for a minimum term of six months for every public school in the state. This proposition is especially in the interest of the country boys and girls. The towns and cities of the state already have an average term much longer than six months. It is to be hoped that intelligent citizens all over the state will rally to the cause of a longer term in the rural schools, even at the cost of an increase in the rate of the property tax. Superintendent Joyner also includes in his report recommendations of a compulsory attendance law and of an efficient system of inspection for the enforcement of the child labor laws. Both of these measures would add greatly to the value of a longer school term.

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Professor Charles A. Ellwood of the University of Missouri has recently published (D. Appleton and Company) an important work on "Sociology in its Psychological Aspects". The author thinks that the time has not yet come to write a system of scientific sociology. But he has devoted many years to the study of the psychological aspects of the theory of society, and the results are presented in this volume. Professor Ellwood's book will be reviewed in a later number of the *QUARTERLY*.

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A most attractive edition of "Aesop's Fables" has been published by Doubleday, Page and Company. (Net, \$1.50.) The translation is by V. S. Vernon Jones, the introduction by G. K. Chesterton, and the admirable illustrations by Arthur Rackham. The text is in clear, bold-faced type on heavy paper.



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Volume XII

Number 2

*The*

# South Atlantic Quarterly

EDITED BY

W. H. GLASSON AND W. P. FEW

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APRIL, 1913

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# The South Atlantic Quarterly

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This journal was founded in January, 1902, in order to afford better opportunity in the South for the discussion of literary, historical, economic, and social questions. It knows no sectional jealousy and aims to offer a publishing medium in which respectful consideration will be accorded to all who have some worthy contribution to make in its chosen field. The Quarterly was originally established by the "9019," a society of young men of Trinity College, but it later passed into the control of the South Atlantic Publishing Company, Incorporated. It is under the joint editorship of Dr. W. H. Glasson and Dr. W. P. Few.

For their journal, the editors and publishers solicit the support of thinking people in all sections of the country and especially in the South. The subscription price is two dollars per year. Communications in regard to articles, book reviews, and editorial matters should be addressed to the Managing Editor, South Atlantic Quarterly, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. If the return of manuscripts not accepted is desired, the required postage should be enclosed. Subscriptions and all communications relating to advertisements and business matters should be addressed to the Treasurer, South Atlantic Quarterly, Durham, N. C.

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Volume XII      APRIL, 1913      Number 2

The  
South Atlantic Quarterly  
Democracy and Literature

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON  
Professor in the University of North Carolina

An imminent issue in the face of the cultural evolution of the new South is the problem of literature in a democracy. In facing this issue, if one appeal for guidance to the life of the past, it is in recognition of the principle that we must "read the lesson of the past in order to teach the present how to shape the future." The economic life is the fundamental condition of all life. "To economic causes", says Seligman, "must be traced, in last instance, those transformations in the structure of society, which themselves condition the relation of social classes and the manifestations of social life." Only in the life of the sovereign people, as reflected in our history, are to be found the creative seeds from which the flower of a great literature may spring. It is that power, originally lodged in the people, and once more asserted by them in the tremendous political upheaval of this hour, to which we confidently look for the rediscovery of economic liberty, of equality of opportunity, and of spiritual freedom in the nation, under the guidance of such great Southerners,—Southerners by birth or by inheritance—as Woodrow Wilson, Oscar Underwood, and Thomas Marshall. It is to that same power of a risen people, awakened in the intellectual as in the political realm, that we must look for the realization of a new age of literary culture.

"Art", says Tolstoy, "knows the true ideal of our times, and tends towards it." If we may but discover this "true ideal of our times", then may we look hopefully for the art which tends towards it—"art transmitting the simplest feelings of common life, but such as are accessible to all men in the whole world—the art of common life—the art of a people—universal art." The literature of the future is the art truly autochthonous—literary products which seem as if self-risen from some miraculous soil, nourished by the mind and the soul. Today the whole world is

one vast democracy—the democracy of the spirit. It is from the struggle of the great duty of charity and justice against our egotism and ignorance, says Maeterlinck, that the supreme literature of this new century shall spring.

In the intellectual and cultural history of the South, we are confronted with four distinctive periods, each leaving its ineffaceable impress upon the life of the nation. The first of these eras of Southern cultural development is the era of the courtly country gentleman, profound student of politics and history, leisurely reader of the classics and the humanities. In this era, the South was far more than the co-partner of the North in shaping the early history of the Union. In a memorable speech in the United States Senate, Charles Sumner frankly stated that for sixty years the South governed the country through its able men in Congress and the Presidency. In constructive statesmanship, continental thinking, and inspiring nationalism, this era of Southern dominance in national affairs is without a parallel or a comparable equal in our national annals. The writings of the elder Southern statesmen, beyond all doubt, were an invaluable contribution to the literature of America. The state papers of these men, of vast intellectual scope and imaginative reach, breathing lofty ideals, yet stiffened by the hardy practicality of the founders of the Republic, stand as yet unrivaled in the nation's intellectual history. They owe their chief eminence less to originality of thought than to adequate interpretation of the needs of a new nation, and their universality of application to the problems of a democratic civilization.

Co-incident with, and consequent to, this magnificent first cycle in our intellectual evolution, came the second era, stretching approximately from 1830 to 1861. There is no era in American history, in relation to the state of culture and the feeling of class-consciousness in the South, which has been so crassly misunderstood. One cannot wholly blame the romantic novelists for throwing into high focus, if false perspective, the aristocratic and oligarchic features of Southern life—the romantic survival upon American soil of a species of belated feudalism. These were the beautiful and picturesque phases of Southern life, ready-made to the hand of the fictive artist; and it is no wonder that people still think of the War between the States as simply a struggle of Puri-

tan and Cavalier, a clash of the ideals of the Lees of Virginia with the ideals of the Adamses of Massachusetts.

There is falsehood in this alluring, but distorted picture. Recent economic investigations tend conclusively to demonstrate that life in the rural South in ante-bellum days was democratic; and that the political leaders owed their selection, not to a landed aristocracy, but to the great masses of the people. There is need for clearer thinking and a truer perspective upon this sociological phase of the South's development. Such a State as North Carolina, which gave two men to the Presidency prior to 1860, one born in a log cabin, the other in a simple country house, and at the close of the War between the States, a third born in an attic, cannot with any semblance of reason preen itself upon the grasping leadership of a landed aristocracy. The aristocracy of leadership in the South was an aristocracy, not of birth, but of merit; not of blood, but of sheer, efficient achievement. The truly typical home of the South was not a Monticello or an Arlington, but a simple four-room house, the home of a homogeneous and pure-blooded people, breeding the democratic ideals of a Macon and a Vance.

The leaders came from all classes of the people, high and low, rich and poor alike. But the vital deficiency in the situation, it must be clearly indicated, was that, whilst all classes furnished leaders, the aristocratic, semi-oligarchic class, of lordly leisure and patriarchal dignity, revelled in a monopoly of culture—the great middle class, the structural and preponderant element of the population, remaining submerged in a twilight of sectionalism, provincialism, and obscured vision.

History confirms the familiar theory that epoch-making movements in industrial prosperity are contemporaneous with a quickening of the national life and a vitalization of the intellectual resources. We should expect, then, in the ante-bellum South an era of fertility in inventiveness, of power in imaginative creativeness, during the great industrial era subsequent to 1830. New England responded nobly to the economic quickening of the national life with the classic and permanent monuments of American literature, the works of Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Hawthorne, Emerson, and Holmes. What explanation do we find for the comparative dearth of literary productivity in the South during the same period?

In the South, local exigency of supreme significance effectually diverted the genius of the people from the library to the rostrum, from the study to the forum. Within the body politic was encysted, like extraneous metal in irritated flesh, the vexing problem of the negro and his destiny. The need of the hour, the subconscious pressure for a vindication of her position on constitutional grounds, summoned the South's great orators and supreme debaters. In this era of secret introspection yet passionate public defence, literature was thrust into the background by the clamorous dominance of orator and statesman. The spoken word came to exercise a relentless tyranny over the written word—a relentless tyranny which perseveres in the South to this very day. The superhuman efforts to safeguard the rights of the mass and the interests of a class left little time for the intensive study so indispensable for the production and publication of a body of great literature.

The error of historians in affirming that literary culture found no lodgment in the ante-bellum South is one of the grave errors which only the documentary facts will suffice effectually to combat. Powerful obstacles militated then—and in considerable measure militate today—against wide-spread preoccupation with literature and the obligations of creative scholarship. The people, an agricultural class, were widely scattered. There were no great cosmopolitan cities to serve as centers of literary activity and forges of creative workmanship. In the South there were no great publishing houses, which by their very existence furnish a perpetual incentive to productivity and publication. The political exigency of the hour, the ambition of the Southerner to maintain that political eminence which he had already so effectually established, monopolized the supply of dynamic literary force. If the Southerner, conservative to the backbone, neglected the native authors,—and it is feared that he neglected them sadly,—it was because of his absorption in the reading of the great classics of English and Continental literature.

In his recently published history of the publishing firm of the Harpers, Mr. J. Henry Harper tells of the vast quantity of books, especially important publications of standard literary works, sold by that firm to Southern book-buyers in the ante-bellum period. "At this period", he says, "the business of the House had become widely extended. The firm was engaged in the pub-

lication of many important works, as well as in the conduct of their two periodicals. The brothers had many intimate friends in the South, and a good deal of their business was with Southern houses; for in the years preceding the Civil War, the South was a great buyer of books."\* Another New York publisher acknowledges that his costliest invoices of European literature went to "the old mansions on the banks of the James and the Savannah and the bluffs of the Mississippi." In a current work detailing the history of the publishing firm of the Putnams, established by his father, Dr. George Haven Putnam tells of the great shipments of standard literary works to the South, notably to New Orleans, before the War between the States—greater than, comments he most significantly, than they have ever been since.† "Nothing could be more remarkable", says Joseph LeConte in his *Autobiography*, "than the wide reading, the deep reflection, the refined culture, and the originality of thought and observation characteristic of them (the Southern planters); and yet the idea of publication never entered their heads."

Following the War between the States, that tragic crisis when the South in the dimness of anguish beheld the loss of wealth, the abolition of property, the violation of the very sanctities of her civilization, this people sternly set themselves to the task of repairing those fallen fortunes and rebuilding that civilization upon broader and more universal outlines. From the side of cultural value, it suffices to disengage from the history of that titanic economic struggle two clearly marked phases in the resurgence of the post-bellum South.

Primarily, the South has devoted her utmost energies to the rebuilding of a civilization economically laid waste by the ravages of civil war. This she has triumphantly begun, and today the new South moves without restraint and with propulsive impetus along the path of normal industrial and economic progress. The primal and distinctive characteristic of this prosperity is its universal diffusion—the emergence of the average man from the pressure of economic necessity and the blight of arrested cultural development. The way has been cleared, economically, for the future *rapprochement* of culture and commercialism.‡

\* *The House of Harper*: Harper and Bros., N. Y., 1912.

† *George Palmer Putnam*. A Memoir: G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1912.

‡ In his remarkable essay, *Culture and Commercialism*, which appeared in this magazine (April, 1908), Professor Edward Graham outlines a rational basis for the reconciliation of these two forces in the future evolution of our democracy.

Following, if not virtually coincident with, the economic restoration of the fallen South, the disestablishment of an individualistic democracy and a pervasively agricultural industry by a communistic democracy and a fully diversified industrial life, has proceeded the tremendous educational crusade of our period. The keynote of that splendid crusade may be found in the words of Pasteur, noblest exemplar of modern civilization: "Democracy is that order in the State which enables each individual to put forth his utmost effort." The Southern people have accepted with an almost fatalistic optimism the doctrine of Socrates that knowledge will inevitably lead to right and useful action and conduct. Here was a vast mass of democratic people, destined for leadership, but educationally untrained to meet its obligations. Unhesitatingly, the South recognized the "common man as the truest asset of a democracy," and resolved to educate that precious common man to the tasks of leadership in all the avenues of an advancing civilization. The educational leaders of the South of today recognize in universal education the supreme force in the moulding of national character. More even than this, it is the indispensable pre-requisite to the intellectual, literary, and cultural awakening of the future.

"Great is the good fortune of a State," says Aristotle, "in which the citizens have a moderate and sufficient prosperity." Fortunate then is the present South, mediately poor in millionaires, but rarely rich in the diffusion of a "moderate and sufficient prosperity." It is matter for experience, Aristotle has elsewhere observed, that "happiness is more often found with those who are most highly cultivated in their mind and their character and have only a moderate share of external goods, than among those who possess external goods to a useless extent, but are deficient in the higher qualities." If old Aristotle be right in his lesson drawn from human experience, the South possesses in preëminent degree one of the indispensable pre-requisites to happiness—a moderate and sufficient prosperity. Does she still await the acquisition of that equally valuable asset, the highest intellectual culture?

"Art," says the great Spanish novelist, Palacio-Valdes, "is a necessary outcome of a certain degree of prosperity attained by countries when man, having overcome the obstacles which were opposed to his subsistence, recovered from his fatigue and enjoyed life quietly." We in the South have overcome the obstacles

opposed to material subsistence; we have established the régime of a rational democracy; have formulated and are striving to realize the millennial dream of universal education. We have passed strenuously into the iron age of economic prosperity, idealistically into the silver age of educational optimism. We stand today at the portals of the golden age of culture. In our time, we have seen the ideals of our civilization shift from symbol to symbol. The symbols of the first era were the bench, the bar, and the manor. The symbols of the ante-bellum era were the rostrum and the forum. The symbols of the recent era have been the furnace and the factory, the schoolhouse and the academy. There is basis for the hope that the symbols of the era now imminent shall be the shrines of culture, of literature, and of art.

Certain modern thinkers have advanced the doctrine that democracy is not the ideal atmosphere for the development of art and the ripening of the fruits of culture. De Tocqueville expressed the opinion that the very structure of a democratic society is unsuited to meditation and inimical to it. In the words of Frederic Garrison, "vast numbers and the passion for equality tend to low averages in thought, in manners and in public opinion, which the zeal of the devoted minority tends gradually to raise to higher planes of thought and conduct." These observations on democracy come to us from England and Europe, the centers of culture, of world civilization. But it should be pointed out, in defence of democracy, that these strictures apply almost exclusively to the pioneer phases of democracy. "Then the struggle and pressure for power and for gain, the unending tumult which accompanies the task of economic and political organization, and the practical interpretation of underlying formulas and principles, as well as the novelty of the conditions of life, all unite to compel the attention outward, and to make reflection an impossible luxury." The simple faith in the doctrine of human equality tends to foster the delusion that any man is fit for any task, and breeds a certain contempt for special knowledge, refined culture, and expert literary skill. And yet the struggle for existence breeds in the race self-reliant resourcefulness, stimulates ingenuity, and inspires inventiveness. After a democratic state of society has established itself, and traditions have become fixed, there seems no reason to believe, as Nicholas Murray Butler says, that "reflection and meditation will not take and hold the commanding place among civi-

lized men." Wealth and commercial dominance quickly produce intellectual vigor and supremacy.

As one studies this democracy of ours in all the variegated vicissitudes of its evolution, one seems to distinguish in its welter of contradictions two supreme streams of tendency which give rich promise for a great literary and cultural awakening.

First, contrary to the current conventionalism that the primal instinct of the American is love of money, I am convinced that our legacy from a century of pioneers is a passion for successful self-expression, for efficiency, and for creative conquest. Again, contrary to convention, I am convinced that the American race is not merely a race of getters and spenders, but the most imaginative of all races, on a grandiose and colossal scale. That imagination which inspired Sir Walter Raleigh to dispatch expedition after expedition to fabled Roanoke, symbolized the soaring imagination of the sturdy Elizabethans of the spacious days of Marlowe, Milton, Spenser, and Shakespeare. In two centuries and a half, the sons of these stalwart Englishmen have lost none of their ancient power to dream dreams, to see visions, and to give firm base to their castles in the air.

It was creative imagination which spurred Richard Henderson, Daniel Boone, and George Rogers Clark across the Alleghanies in their arduous efforts to win the imperial domain of Kentucky and to secure the great Northwest to the American nation. It was prophetic imagination which inspired the men of Mecklenburg to speak for liberty in May, 1775. It was martial imagination which drove the South to fight for constitutional freedom in the supreme crisis of the Republic. It was cosmic imagination which inspired the American engineers in the epic construction of the Panama Canal. It was inventive imagination which inspired Edison to incandescent world illumination, the Wright brothers to achieve the conquest of a new realm—the domain of the air. It was the pioneer imagination which sent Peary upon that frozen, trackless journey which ended in the Pole. Let but that same colossal and grandiose imagination be dedicated to the service of literature, and we shall see upon the soil of our native America the supreme imaginative artists of the world.

The phenomenal and virtually unplumbed possibilities of America as a new field for the newer art of the twentieth century lie as yet almost unrealized by our native artists. The greatest artist,

says a great modern artist, "is he who goes a step beyond the demand, and by supplying works of a higher beauty and a higher interest than have yet been perceived, succeeds, after a brief struggle with their strangeness, in adding this fresh extension of sense to the heritage of the race." Such artists we await and expect—to discover in the wealth of America's natural and wild splendor that "higher beauty and higher interest" for the great art work of our future. In one of the most remarkable passages in contemporary American literature, Percy MacKaye has projected his "vision splendid" of the future for art in the "New Eldorado":

"In America, therefore, where our Cyclopean industries of iron and gold and brass and blazing ores sit on our Appalachians and our Rockies and, like so many Polyphemi, gaze down with fiery eyes upon their smoking hearth-stones—ten thousand cities with their consumed humanity; in America, where again the silent forests range, solitude after solitude, millions of acres, and you shall hear nothing but the water-falls and the wind, and behold nothing but far peaks and endless pines shadowing their own twilight; in America, where our sky-scrappers, tower on tower, build another Sidon in mid-air; where the electric mules tunnel our river-bottoms, and our huddled citizens build conglomerate homes like mud-wasps; in America, if we shall look around us with fresh eyes, and if, with fresh vision, we peer into that past which produced us, and beyond to the horizon of cosmopolitan promise which is our destiny to come, surely in this America we shall discover, in riches, more than the raw stuff of our bank accounts; in art, more than a mere standing-place whence we may crane our pygmy necks toward Rome and the Old World; in prophecy, more than the *bourgeois* hope of imitation and self-disguise."

If we turn to the South of today, we are confronted with unmistakable signs of a spiritual awakening, which gives promise for the advent of some sort of literary and cultural renascence. In that section of literature denominated history, the South is accomplishing results of a national order of significance. Indeed, in appreciation of the function of history as an instrumentality for the moulding of national ideals, the South is today sectionally self-conscious, and fast becoming nationally self-conscious. In the South, it is only slowly dawning upon public consciousness that literature is an indispensable part of history. Literature not only is history; it makes history. Indeed, literature is national and international autobiography, since it is the presentation of civilization in its best products, its most significant moments sublimated with the highest artistic potency. If history is

in some sense the biography of great men and great women, in a far deeper sense literature is the autobiography of a nation's life, ideals, and destiny.

The vital deficiency in the temper of the South of today is the relative indifference to literature. Preoccupation with history, initially inspired by a passionate sense of loyalty to the memory of the gallant fighters of the War between the States, has now extended to every phase of the evolutional life of the Southern people. Here and there, within the past decade, may be discerned signs that the people are coming vaguely to realize the incomparable value of literature as a means of promoting culture, widening horizons, and advancing civilization. People are coming to realize, for example, that it was not wealth or military prowess, but Ibsen and Björnson who projected little Norway into the focus of international renown; that Sweden was comparatively negligible from the world point of view until the advent of Strindberg. It is becoming recognized that the novelist is the maker of history in the double sense—in that he projects authentic pictures of life already lived, and directs the course of events in accordance with the ideals which he embodies; that the poet, to use the term in its most inclusive significance, is the interpreter and the seer, whose winged words inspire the soul and become the mainspring of action. As a brilliant English critic has just said: "We should cultivate reverence in us for what is really great, and discard some of the reverence all are eager to express for what is not great, but often the reverse of great.—I would rather lose a Dreadnought than a Davidson or a Middleton.—One John Davidson or one Richard Middleton is worth more—let the truth be said boldly for once!—one Richard Middleton is in himself rarer and in his work more valuable than all the Cabinet Ministers seen in England during his lifetime. The Cabinet Minister has only to win in the limited competition of the House of Commons; he has only to surpass living rivals, the men of his own time; but the poet might be the first of his generation and yet deserve little: to win our admiration he has to measure himself with the greatest of all the past, and hold his place among the Immortals."

The South has already begun to turn its attention to literature in anticipation of the imminent cultural awakening of her people. The South finds expression today for her reverence for the past through the erection of countless monuments to her civil and

military leaders. It is also highly significant of the larger vision of the new educational era in the South that memorials are beginning to be erected to her educational statesmen. It is noteworthy, however, that thus far in her history, the men and women of letters in the South await the recognition of the universities and the colleges, the appreciative attention of the scholar, the adequate appreciation of the public.

In the literature produced at the South, there is always the lurking danger of sectionalism. That danger is now almost wholly negligible. The literature of a homogeneous people, the purest section of the Anglo-Saxon race still surviving anywhere, will inevitably reflect the ideals, the passions, and the life of that people. But it is a far cry from sectionalism, with its devastating blight of self-sufficiency, to the healthy virtues of a sane provincialism. The South today, along with the whole country, is beginning to feel the impulse and the pressure of the international spirit. As Nicholas Murray Butler has just said: "We Americans need the international mind as much as any people ever needed it. We shall never be able to do justice to our better selves or to take our true part in the modern world until we acquire it. We must learn to suppress rather than to exalt those who endeavor, whether through ignorance, selfishness, or malice, to stir up among us antagonism to other nations and to other peoples." If American literature, if Southern literature, is to represent the best that is thought and felt in the world today, it must be surcharged with a sense of human solidarity. I think it was Marcus Aurelius who said that the intelligence of the world is social. In America, there is bitter and urgent need for that cultural and spiritual illumination which has come in Europe from a Taine and a Brunetière, a Carlyle, an Ibsen and a Meredith. "The man who expects to rise above mediocrity in this age", says that trustworthy critic, Francis Grierson, "must not only become familiar with the characteristics of his own people, but must acquaint himself with the virtues and vanities of other nations in order to wear off the provincial veneer which adheres to all individuals without practical experience, and mocks one in a too conscious security of contentment and indifference."

We shall not acquire a literature truly autochthonous in character until we realize the supreme criterion of literature as set forth by Bourget: that there is in every work of art something

more than esthetic effort, that each creation is inevitably and almost unconsciously a manifestation of all the elements which make the national character. We shall not acquire a literature truly international in character until we realize the ideal of art as defined by Stendhal: "the analysis of the human passions and the artistic expression of those passions." These are the inevitable criteria for the literature of America. The recognition of the immitigable obligations of such criteria is a poignantly felt want in the literature of the South. The ideal Southern writer, said Joel Chandler Harris once, in speaking of the cultural deficiencies of the South, "must be Southern and yet cosmopolitan; he must be intensely local in feeling, but utterly unprejudiced and unpartisan as to opinions, tradition, and sentiment. Whenever we have a genuine Southern literature, it will be American and cosmopolitan as well. Only let it be a work of genius, and it will take all sections by storm."

## History and Patriotism

WILLIAM E. DODD

Professor of American History in the University of Chicago

So many people speak of history in terms of such endearing familiarity and all of us have so many "settled convictions" about certain leading facts in our past national or racial evolution that one, even a student of history, may well feel some hesitancy in speaking out plainly. History and religion, history and politics are so closely interwoven and are so near to us; they involve so many personal considerations that it is, and long has been, a delicate thing to discuss with perfect freedom the story of the immediate past. This has been conspicuously true of the South where so many people consider history as a highly personal matter; it is hardly less true of the North though not so generally acknowledged.

Men do not care to have ugly facts published, and all of us have either a national or a sectional pride which resists the implication that our country or our section has not always been right. We deny infallibility to the popes of Rome and claim it for our ancestors; we are perfectly sure of our doctrine of the total depravity of man, but claim a sanctity for ourselves and perfection for our party or state which argues ill for our sense of humor. It comes practically to this: other people are fallible, but not ourselves; other nations may go wrong, ours never.

This faith in oneself, this blindness to the wrong-doing of one's country or section or church is not wholly bad. It helps men to the narrowness which makes them fight cheerfully in time of war, or "vote the ticket", even when they must "hold their noses", at election times. But it also leads to evils of the most serious character. Provincial loyalty was largely if not mainly the cause of the civil war in this country, while the stubborn and wilful egotism of France gave Bismarck his opportunity to trample under foot the regiments of Napoleon III. If it is a good thing to believe in one's cause, it is sometimes a calamity to ignore or pervert self-evident facts or fail by reason of self-confidence to recognize the truth. How different would be the tale of American history if the South had been able to see herself as others saw her in 1861! The war of 1861-65 settled nothing save that the states

compose a nation and not a confederacy. As to the dependence and vassalage of weaker men upon stronger we are not far removed from the teachings of the South before 1860. We threw off a feudalism in which the negro was the "mud-sill" and forthwith accepted another in which the industrial worker takes the dependent's place. Turning our back as a nation upon one system of serfdom we walked boldly into another and have ever since claimed international credit for performing the feat. A long and awful war and no solution of the great social problem; in the main a useless war at a cost of a million lives! Men had suffered themselves to be blinded by a false patriotism; North as well as South men refused to read history and recognize the truth.

And this leads to the contention of this anniversary address\*: namely, that publicists and historians must emancipate themselves from patriotism or rather learn that truth is greater than devotion to country or state or self. He who can tell the truth is greater than Caesar; and, if public officials could once recognize this, common men would not be led into so many pitfalls. But hitherto most leaders of public opinion have thought that the cause of country or party or church was so important that the truth, oftentimes clearly seen and understood, was denied and the public deceived. How many instances might not be cited to illustrate this! Rather than betray the true state of things Napoleon III went into the war with Germany with an army crippled and lamed by "graft" and deception; instead of taking the people into their confidence the "Fathers" adopted a scheme of adroit maneuvers to gain their end—the drafting and the adoption of the federal constitution in 1787-89. And there are many good men who still think it better to emblazon a falsehood on their flags than to confess an error.

The great mass of inarticulate men who support government and maintain the social order have thus been led into a false position. They believe so much that is not true and think so many things happened which never had existence that the fabric of our institutions would be greatly endangered if the whole truth were put before them. An able historian said to the writer within the past year: "If the real history of the United States should be taught in our schools a great crop of revolutionists would be the result." The best asset of socialism is the fact that the public has

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\* At Trinity College, Washington's Birthday, 1913.

been misinformed or actually misled concerning its own affairs. And should socialists secure control of any of the larger cities or states the opportunity would be used to the utmost. An eminent man whose name is known all over the country said only recently, after reading a history of the Supreme Court of the United States by the socialist Myers: "If Myers is telling the truth historians have been guilty of the greatest perversion of the truth." The troublesome fact is that Myers is telling the truth in most important matters. He misuses evidence sometimes but the evidence is there and plentiful.

Thus public leaders, politicians, and even preachers have influenced the people to believe what is not so, while both publicists and the common opinion have convinced the historian and the teacher that history must accord, in the main, with the popular feeling. And in the United States, at least, we have erected a huge fabric of tradition, error, and sometimes actual falsehood which may prove a serious menace at some dangerous crisis; for, as the general level of intelligence and information rises, a change of attitude on the part of the masses of people will surely come. You ask for a bill of particulars for such a serious indictment: In the first place historians and economists have nearly always been conservatives, doubting the capacity of the people to decide important questions, and nationalists wedded to certain theories; and they have both consciously and unconsciously shaped their works to meet the desired ends. For example, the greatest account of the Roman republic, that of Mommsen, is unreliable because the author was so anxious to prove that a great despot like Julius Caesar was necessary to the maintenance of public order, to protect the people against themselves. And to Mommsen Caesar was the most perfect man ever born of woman; he was, as is made more than clear to the reader, the prototype of the emperors of modern Germany.

To come nearer home with our bill of particulars, John Marshall's history of the early American republic, a work which he entitled *The Life of Washington*, shows the purpose of the author to exalt one party at the expense of the other so plainly that the book is worse than useless. Yet Marshall's account underlay other narratives for a long time and is still quoted as an authority. The high judicial position of the author has caused

this misleading narrative to be accepted far and near as the truth.

And George Bancroft who was as good a republican as Mommsen was a monarchist, wrote a six-volume history of the United States in which he proves that all American revolutionists were saints and all Englishmen and tories were sinners above all other men. So decided and strong is the note of praise and glorification that a very moderate critic has said that Bancroft's history is but an elongated Fourth-of-July oration. If Marshall influenced politicians, tory churchmen, and thousands of the people, Bancroft influenced historians and other writers for half a century. One can scarce open a book of history or biography bearing on America without finding page after page in full harmony with, and sometimes quoted from, Bancroft. Now our first great New England historian told the truth in the main, but he so arranged his facts and his narrative as to make his work most misleading. The real forces operating on the American public during the Revolution he either did not recognize or, like the publicists to whom reference has been made, he ignored all account of them because his heroes would have been made to appear as quite common clay. To my mind it was essential that the public should know the whole truth, just what had been done or seriously attempted during that struggle.

It is a common saying that President Jackson declared rather bluntly in 1830: "The Union, it shall be preserved." The reason for this sudden outburst of nationalism was supposed to be his purpose to crush nullification in South Carolina. If Jackson was a more ardent nationalist in 1830 than Calhoun, the author of nullification, I have been unable to find evidence of the fact, and it is well known that at the very time Jackson was crushing nullification in South Carolina, where his political enemy lived, he was giving nullification in Georgia, where his friends were concerned, a free course. He actually encouraged the people of Georgia to disregard a decision of the United States Supreme Court.

These things are known to historians but they do not appear in the school histories; it seems to the authors of these best to suppress the true story or a part of the story in order to make Calhoun appear a bad man and Jackson a savior of the Union. At the same time the conflict between Jackson and Calhoun was

waging, Webster made his famous oration which all of us have declaimed in the public schools: "The Union now and forever, one and indissoluble." But Webster never before had been an ardent lover of the Union. Within the preceding decade he had been declaring, as South Carolina was in 1830 declaring, that a protective tariff was unconstitutional and his remedy for unconstitutional procedure was secession. In 1830 he had changed his outward position, but the Webster correspondence—both the letters he wrote and those he received—of that year shows conclusively that his speech against Hayne was aimed at the building up of New England interests through national laws contrary to the interests of the South and West. What he said about the Union was aimed at the up-country and western people who for very good reasons loved the national government and whom he hoped to win away from the southern-western alliance by which Jackson had been made president in 1828 and by which the southern leaders hoped to break down the protective system.

Historians know these facts now and publicists knew them better still at the time, but a false notion about the way to build up a strong nationalist party caused them to suppress the truth. To be sure the minority men understood and stated the facts, but defeated minorities are overwhelmed and pronounced "undesirable citizens" whom none shall believe.

The actual evolution of the national idea from 1830 to 1860 was understood at the time, but it has been misunderstood ever since the great war between the states came to a close. Jackson and Calhoun formed a political combination in 1828 whereby the South and the West were to guide and profit by the national administration—in which they were only following a precedent set in 1824 by Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams. The Jackson-Calhoun alliance meant a lower tariff, liberal land laws, and internal improvements for the benefit of the needy West; the Adams-Clay combination meant a higher tariff, internal improvements, and unliberal land laws for the benefit of New England. In each case the nationalism of the group concerned was based on and aimed at economic benefits; and in no case was it a sheer love of the Union and what it connoted. One or the other of these alliances must be the background and the support of any national admin-

istration during the period of 1800 to 1860 and the object was always—and now is—to work out a federal policy most profitable to the majority,—the majority, as a rule, of property holders. That was the Davis program when he guided the policy of President Pierce; that was Douglas's idea when he carried the Kansas-Nebraska bill through congress in 1854; and again in 1860 that was the method and the purpose of the convention which nominated Lincoln. In all this struggle there were other and minor purposes, but the above statement covers the major objects all the time. And if this is true, as is now acknowledged by the best of historians, there was no more of virtue in the contentions of one party in 1860 than in those of another. If the South had continued to win the elections, the Northeast would have seceded and been compelled to come back into the Union; as it was, the North won in a campaign which seemed to show that southern property was not safe, and the South seceded and was forced to return.

War, secession, and defeat meant that the weaker party and all its ideals should go into oblivion, branded as wholly unpatriotic and desperately wicked. So it was in ancient Rome when Caesar drove the republicans from power; so also in England when Cromwell's bones were dug up and hanged for the delectation of the victors who had overthrown his party; and hence the natural lot of Jefferson Davis who must needs become the sinner and the scapegoat of his day and generation.

These are some of the illustrations which come most readily to mind. There are hundreds of others which might be cited as evidence that publicists and historians have both consciously and unconsciously built up a history, perhaps a nationalist myth which has possibly helped many a poor man to lay down his life for his country but which has left us a legacy which may prove a plague. The greatest fear today of wealthy men and conservative leaders is that the American public may become convinced that there has been crookedness all the way along, and rise up in their might to strike down innocent and guilty alike; and that is the danger. And so far as history is concerned, there seems to be room enough for just complaint. Good people, for it is the good people who do the greatest wrongs in this world, have overlooked and even suppressed the facts which ought to have gone into the popular histories. This is the reason "muck-rakers"

are so much in evidence. They have a great opportunity in exploiting the facts of recent history; what may they not do when they get into the documents of our early national life. As their work expands, let us hope it may show always a spirit of devotion to the truth which is necessary to save them and us.

But the "muck-raker" is not a historian. The former expects or desires immediate results—the hanging of evil-doers; the latter knows the long course the race has come, and he has seen so much injustice and brutality which have characterized what has been called progress, that he foresees consequences in the hanging process which would be worse for the race than forgiveness and oblivion. Wrongs are not corrected by the taking of the lives of those who have done wrong. In Chicago some twenty-five years ago a half dozen Haymarket rioters were put to death by an angry public authority. Today there are a thousand socialists in that city for every hundred who were then aimed at; and one might properly assume that the blood then split was but the blood of martyrs.

It has not been the false patriotism of historians alone which has kept the truth out of our school books. The great legal profession has had its share of the work. In a history of the American bar Mr. Charles Warren of Boston showed last year that the majority of this most powerful of the professions have long constituted a group who not only feel themselves better than other elements of society, but who have for a century or more given their support to courts and judges when there was every reason to withhold it. What lawyer will submit to hear the truth patiently about Chief Justice Marshall or Judge Story. The biographer who told all the story of Hunter vs. Martin's lessees, in which the great judge decided a case in which he had been engaged for years as counsel, contrary to the claims and even rights of the people of Virginia and in favor of his own clients who had paid him as a lawyer, would hardly be safe in a meeting of the American Bar Association. Or what would the majority of the profession say if the facts of the Dartmouth College case were put into school books.

Somehow successful men of all callings get to think the Declaration of Independence is only a glittering fallacy—that all men are not equal, and readily defend the appearance of caste in our life. The Jeffersonian doctrine may not be strictly accurate, but there

is something wrong with the man who sets about establishing the converse that all men are unequal. He who claims for himself superiority is apt not to be superior. It is, however, just this sort of man who seeks to keep from the people the ugly facts about the past; he seems to feel that there is a class in the country whose deeds need not be made known, or that there is a large mass of people to whom history should be a closed book. There are many men who have never been willing to allow that the United States is or ought to be a democracy; to them it is patriotism to dress up and romanticise the facts of our national development.

There has never been a time when the call to history seemed so imperative, the call to serve and speak the truth, and let parties or churches or great families suffer as they may: the suffering, so persecution be not allowed, will do them good and at the same time bring the great groups of American society to a better understanding of each other. "The field is ripe unto the harvest and the laborers are few." Our whole history is to be rewritten in the light of new social conditions and with the assistance of the new evidence that is being gathered every day in almost every state in the Union. The leaders of the past, both first-rate and secondary, must be studied afresh and presented as they were, not as they have appeared in fable and story. This needs to be done not in a spirit of irreverence for great reputations, but with the desire and purpose to bring out the truth. If Henry Clay was a great orator and actor, he was also a shrewd politician who more than once did his country great injury. If Calhoun was noble and lofty, as he surely was, he was also an ambitious and sometimes reactionary leader whose influence led his people, the South, into the most disastrous war known to history. It is the business of the student and teacher to repaint the canvas, to rearrange the national hall of fame, placing the truest and best on the highest pedestals and thrusting out only the time-servers and the unworthy whom ignorance and a false local pride have succeeded in placing in positions where men must ask: who they were and what they did? If the work be done aright the public, so long left out of the count in making up such estimates, will approve; nor will there be any breakdown of ideals, only the making of them more tangible and fixed assets of our society. Large communities will be encouraged to stand for their real leaders,

and churches might be led to see that expulsion and dishonor are not the remedies for unorthodox views. The new history which our children must learn would be true and more worthy of being painfully memorized. Many of the great old figures will still adorn the pages of text-books, while many whose faces were a reflection on the intelligence and learning of historians will disappear. The large ideas which we have loved all along, like the Declaration of Independence, will become the more sacred by reason of the removal of the myths and shams upon which a so-called patriotic affection has been wasted. The people of the United States have done too much that is good to fear the truth, and our future is too promising for any one to think further conscious deception necessary. We shall have to give up certain theories of past national and sectional righteousness; but the man who thinks his own past life spotless is a doubtful asset in any community; why should a nation or a group of a nation be better than the men who compose it? We shall certainly realize one of these days that we did not treat Spain as it becomes a Christian and honorable people to treat other and weaker peoples. And I fear we shall see that the real purpose of our remaining so long in the Philippines has not been the teaching of their children the Latin alphabet or the longer catechism.

Our children are taught to think that the United States went to war always and only when she was in the right and others wholly in the wrong; for example, the war of 1812, the time when the Americans had to administer to England a second drubbing, is considered by every school boy as a fight for sailors' rights. It may have been remotely connected with seafaring and sea rights, but all good students know it was primarily for the annexation of Canada and the Spanish possessions to the south of us which Napoleon promised to deliver if we went to war with England at the time of his invasion of Russia. Moreover the young man who comes up to our universities thinks that the United States really whipped Great Britain on that occasion. The fact is Great Britain whipped the United States soundly and only ceased the operation because Europe was so happy at the overthrow of Napoleon that America was practically forgotten.

In the North everybody thinks that the civil war was fought to maintain the Union; the greatest historian of the country says positively that it was fought to free the negro, but labelled a

fight for the Union. The truth probably is that it was a struggle for political power. In the South everybody says the war was fought for the rights of states; the historian just mentioned says it was a struggle for the rights of property in negro slaves. Perhaps it was a war for political power as well as one waged on behalf of property. There is a wide divergence here in history, or what purports to be history; and it should not remain thus since we are to continue to be one country. I know of no other nation in which two distinct histories are taught in the schools. And it can not be a wholesome thing for us. Why not have the actual facts presented and say to the young child that one party to the conflict was just as honorable as the other?

If this were done, and if the almost puerile narratives to which reference has been made were set right, we should greatly profit as a people, even if some political parties and some poor little politicians were left without any stock in trade. The corrections would do justice and at the same time work a wholesome repentance, perhaps a more modest disposition which could not fail to help a nation as it always improves an individual; and the patriotism of the future would be of an earnest, sober character that must be better than the spread eagle-ism of the past and the school books.

To some people the call to public service of such a character as I have indicated is as distinct and positive as ever was the call to the Christian ministry—and, when all is said, it is a service to the public, a work on behalf of the common good that may not be less necessary than that of the preacher. Where can one make one's energies and abilities count for more than in working out from the storehouses of documents, public reminiscences, and private records the real story of our past. To correct the misapprehensions and the partisan deceptions of other generations and thus set the pages of serious history right ought to be as big a task as an aspiring man would desire to undertake. The public will not pay for the work in the coin of the realm; neither did the public pay the brave old pioneer preachers who did so much to civilize the neglected people of this country during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, yet few real men refused the serious work because \$70 a year would not support a family. To labor and toil in the developing of a new intellectual life in so great a country as the United States, to influence the teaching

and mould the instruction by which the succeeding generation is to be prepared for its tasks is a great work—and the future may regard it as of far greater significance than the organization of corporations or the manipulation of paper securities.

In view of the importance of such work as has been outlined and of the contempt with which scholars and scientists are regarded by those whom the world calls great, I am disposed to speak of the study and teaching of history as missionary work; it is certainly "missionary" if the average emoluments of teachers and writers be taken as indicating the class and character of vocations. A cab driver receives more in this country than a school teacher; and the greatest historian of the generation just passing away lived on half what it costs to maintain a carpenter. The best books, those that now influence our thinking most, at least in the field of history, have not netted their authors the cost of the paper and ink consumed in their composition; yet most thoughtful men would rather have written Rhodes' History of the American Civil War than to have been the president for life of the American steel trust. The real rewards of life come in seeing the influence of one's work upon the thought and action of others, not in shrewdly manipulating other people's savings, "honestly," into one's own pocket.

To meet the requirements of the scholar's life one must be willing to forego most of the glittering financial and social prizes which seem to corrupt the morals and the manners of so many Americans; it is even necessary to ignore sometimes the condescending patronage of economic, and even intellectual, snobs. Life as lived in the United States sometimes puts in high places the most pitiful specimens, and real men must sometimes submit to such with the best grace possible. These are but trifles. The greater tests come in other ways. To be a scholar or scientist, certainly to be a historian, one must feel the same devotion to truth, the same courage to speak and write the truth that marked the characters of the martyrs to early Christianity; for there are many powerful men today who do not care to have the facts of our life made known, and there are some who would gladly return to the methods of the sixteenth century in order to get rid of disagreeable persons who will not perjure or stultify themselves. Even good conservative and religious groups oftentimes

fear to have the truth published abroad, and they resort to the most remarkable devices to protect themselves from the facts and from those who, as they think, have no more sense than to speak out their minds. Illustrations and examples of this probably occur at once to everyone. Whenever any large mass of a people show this morbid fear of the facts it is a sign of an over-ripe social or economic life, like that of the South from 1850 to 1860 or of England in 1760; it is also a signal that fearless devotees to the truth must stand to their guns.

The kind of work that is here contemplated, while it does not command the high emoluments of our day and while it sometimes brings persecutions from the powerful who can for the moment control public opinion, is the very salvation of the great mass of inarticulate men who always have to pay in sweat and blood for the uncorrected errors of their economic superiors. Not only does the scholar earn more than he can ever receive in financial rewards; he benefits the plainest and the weakest classes of men. And he is the maker of the intellectual and cultural life of a people, of that which one generation surely transmits to its successors.

Is there not, then, a strong and insistent call for the best talent and the highest courage in the field of the new humanities, in history, political science, and economics? It is quite possible that men who have ears to hear might hear this as distinctly as did the ardent preachers of John Wesley's time. Shall there always be ten thousand able young lawyers ever ready to do the bidding of Big Business and few to do service in the great cause of science and scholarship. The truth shall make men free, and freedom makes a people great and a nation's life rich. If our whole history must be rewritten and if the sciences need ten men to one they receive, is there not real patriotism in answering the call? And is there not the same desire that once animated young men to serve the public not for money or a set price? To some, at least, the opportunities appear greater now than at any time in our national evolution; and the more especially in the social sciences which have to do with history, economics, and government. May not the elevation to the first office in the land of a student and a scholar prove a stimulant to the better and higher ambitions of young men and lead to an emphasis and an appreci-

tion of those qualities and activities which have so won the people of this and other countries for the President-elect?

In the hope that this may be the case and that both a new history and a new patriotism may come into vogue in the next decades of our national life, I have risked this topic and this discussion on this natal day of the Father of his Country.

## Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach

PAUL EMERSON TITSWORTH

Professor of Modern Languages in Alfred University, New York

In the front rank of women writers using the German tongue stands the Austrian baroness, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach. Her productions have never aroused great excitement, but she has won for herself a steadily enlarging circle of readers not alone in her homeland and on the continent but even in America. As outward and official tokens of this crescendo of appreciation, Emperor Franz Joseph, in 1898, on the occasion of her sixtieth birthday, awarded her—the first woman to receive it—the medal of honor for notable accomplishment in art and science, and two years later the conservative University of Vienna bestowed upon her—likewise the first woman to gain this distinction—the degree of doctor of philosophy, *honoris causa*. On this, her seventieth anniversary, the German people, conscious of possessing in her a great spiritual force, paid her the homage due her personality and her work by a widespread celebration of the event. Little known in America, she is nevertheless very closely akin to us in her attitude toward the insistent problems of modern life. She represents in a very notable fashion the best German idealism, to which our own is so deeply indebted.

Born in 1830, as Countess Dubsky, on the paternal estate of Zdislavic, in Moravia—a land of mingled Czechic and German population—she unites within herself the blood of these two great races. It is refreshing to note that, although of ancient and wealthy family and surrounded from the outset with the traditions of her class and with luxury, she has put aside caste ideas and has envisaged impartially peasant and noble alike, and that opulence has not cut the nerve of ambition and industry in her. Undoubtedly her sympathy, her whole-souledness, and her delight in labor are due in large measure to the simplicity and wholesomeness of her earliest environment and education. A home of affectionate care and true refinement, contact with nature and a love for the great out-of-doors, delight in the hunt, enurement to hardship, good books, and last but not least the learning of a trade—all contributed to her physical and spiritual well-being.

In 1848, at the age of 18, she married her cousin, Baron Moritz

von Ebner-Eschenbach, an officer in the Austrian army and a refined and serious-minded man. Although childless, the union was a happy one and ended in 1898 by the death of Baron Moritz only a few months before the celebration of their golden wedding. Since her marriage, she has lived in Vienna, at Klosterbruck in Moravia, and on the paternal estate, Zdislavice. This alternation of residence between country and city has given her an insight into the lives of peasants and outcasts as well as into those of the great of an old court. What she has lacked in opportunity for observing many lands and many people—except for a few visits to Germany she has been outside Austria but once, a trip to Rome—she has made up by intuitive and sympathetic sounding to the bottom of the life at hand. Her career is one in which the uneventfulness of the exterior stands in marked contrast with the fullness of inner experience.

Denied the joys and onerous duties of motherhood, she early turned for consolation and occupation to literary activity. Her first work, a drama, entitled *Mary Stuart in Scotland*, appeared in 1860 and was performed in Karlsruhe but failed of appeal. A few other unsuccessful attempts at play-writing led her to essay narration. Since 1872 her novels and short stories have appeared at frequent intervals and more and more established her indubitable right to an honored place, not only in contemporary, but in all German literature. Some of her best known stories are *Bozena* (1876); *Lotti, Die Uhrmacherin* (*Lotti, the Watchmaker*) (1883); *Das Gemeindekind* (*A Ward of the Parish*) (1887); and *Unsühnbar* (*Beyond Atonement*) (1890). Interspersed with these novels and also subsequent to them have appeared a multitude of shorter stories, her latest collection of tales, *Genrebilder*, appearing in 1910. In addition to this imaginative literature, she has written a short autobiography and a volume of aphorisms, the latter evidencing her powers as a critical, and at the same time sympathetic, observer of the world within and without her.

Serenity and sanity are the most notable attributes of the personality of Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach. Aware of its chaos and discord, she nevertheless views life tranquilly, for, from her lofty vantage point, she sees its symmetry and catches its harmony. She has known the hatred of the proletariat for the aristocracy, the indifference of the nobility toward the social and industrial wrongs suffered by the commons, she has gazed upon much of the

corruption of an old court, she has beheld traditional religion losing its redemptive power, she has observed the rise and fall of many literary schools—indeed, in early life, she witnessed the failure of her own dramatic attempts—and in the face of all this she has gone her own way, conscious of her duty as a human being and as an artist, and without losing faith in the goodness of men nor in the efficacy of her own literary ideals. In her, as in few persons—German critics often rank her in the company of Goethe and Schiller in this regard—feeling, reason, and capacity for action are united in a noble harmony. By avoiding sentimentality and scepticism and by dint of self-control and industry she has attained much of the noble simplicity, quiet grandeur, and repose of character aimed at by the Greeks.

By no means, however, does this serenity spell indifference to the pulsations of life. It is astonishing that, living as Baroness von Ebner-Eschenbach has, sheltered from want by ample means and reared amidst the exclusiveness of an old aristocracy, she should be so intelligently interested in all phases of human experience and should have studied so carefully and sympathetically questions which easy-going conservatism does not usually consider worth troubling itself about. Goodness and sympathy, however, form the very marrow of her character and these qualities are abundantly manifest in her life and in her writings. Denied children of her own, she has not only mothered a host of nephews and nieces but even the waifs and poor of her estate: in the city and at the Austrian court, she has become the trusted and valued adviser of many prominent men and women. In her works she has touched upon and illuminated such questions as human freedom, total depravity, the function of the church in modern society, the responsibility of the possessors of wealth and culture to those lower down, the relation of the development of society to the welfare of its women and children, and the place of sex psychology and the pathological in literature.

She arrives at her conclusions, not by close and abstract thinking, but by deductions made from the reaction of her instincts and her experience. This is perhaps the most strikingly feminine trait of her work. Her writings, while in a broad sense didactic, do not show any attempt to build up a philosophy but are the bodying forth of human beings, under imaginary but easily possible circumstances, who act according to principles inherent in hu-

manity. She is interested in people first of all and ideas only secondarily.

At the basis of her credo is the belief in the possibility for every normal human being to attain moral self-consciousness and self-dependence. She holds, with Goethe, that there is an instinct for good in the heart of even the worst of the children of men, that this innate goodness will manifest itself in the face of the most untoward circumstances, and that life is only a schooling in self-discovery. Examples of the struggle for self-realization could be cited from nearly every work of Marie Ebner's, for she enjoys depicting individuals in their evolution to that freedom which she considers the greatest human good. She is an ethical enthusiast—sometimes too apparently so—in spite of everything in the way of human perversity which the day may bring forth. She puts into the mouth of one of her characters the following sentiment which represents admirably her own feeling: "Let us go forward in that belief which leads to loyalty, to self-control and which scorns all cowardly indolence of thought or action. There is a development of man and a progress in the good and its most dangerous enemies are those who deny it. The belief in the good is that which calls goodness into being, and in the sign of that belief I shall conquer."

Her conviction that humanity is essentially good is squarely opposed to the older church view that man has fallen from a one-time state of purity and can be saved only by an act of belief in a traditional dogma. In her treatment of religious problems she has felt her way carefully and reverently and has come to the conclusion, so fully in accord with what the educated classes of America are coming to believe, that the sources of religion are not situate in a book or an institution but in the human heart and that salvation is not a single act of belief accomplished in the twinkling of an eye but is the slow attainment of freedom from ignorance, prejudice, and weakness of will.

Moreover, she not only disagrees with the church on a fundamental point but she often scores it for not only not helping but for hindering man in the attainment of this freedom. In her novel, *A Ward of the Parish*, she depicts her boy hero's visit to the convent where his sister is. Stimulated by the purity of the life which Milada is leading, Pavellongts to break with his own short but spotted past and to begin life over again. He pleads with the

mother superior to be freed from the temptations which he must meet if he returns home. He begs her to employ him about the grounds of the convent or to give him a chance to work out his freedom. In reply, she admonishes him to go home and be good, without, however, lifting one of her sanctified fingers to ameliorate the evil conditions of his life. The contrast between the serenity and sanctity of the cloister with the turmoil and sin of the world back into which Pavel is sent is a scathing rebuke to any religious system that exalts the medieval interpretation of the admonition to keep one's self unspotted from the world, while it turns a deaf ear to its own social responsibility.

Religion, to Baroness von Ebner-Eschenbach, consists not in ecstatic contemplation of a far-off good nor in an abstract speculation on the order of the universe but in the moralizing of society—in the alleviation of the physical and social causes of sin, in the freedom from injustice, and in a chance for every individual to live out the best that is within him under the impulse of all the spiritual forces that can come to bear on him.

Her attitude toward the question of woman's rights is characteristic of her whole way of looking at things. She disagrees with Schiller when he says that man strives for freedom and woman for refinement (*Sitte*), for she believes that the time in the evolution of woman has now come when she, too, must enter the struggle for freedom. More than this, Marie Ebner asserts that not only does the salvation of woman lie in her own hands but that upon her progress depends the progress of the culture of the world. Because of her pronounced views, many attempts have been made to win her for the suffrage propaganda, but to no avail. To enter the lists as a reformer would destroy that serenity and mental equilibrium which is so marked in her character. It is her opinion that woman must first build up this kingdom of freedom from within, that its construction demands patience and self-control, and that no Amazonian encounter with man for her rights will produce permanent results.

Sometimes when the non-critical reader thinks of modern literature and particularly of foreign novels he imagines them to be largely, as is the case with French naturalism, for example, an over-frank handling of the relation of the sexes to each other. Americans, as a whole, do not breathe easily in the hot, musk-laden atmosphere of the psychology of sexual passion, nor do

they delight to stand by while an author stretches his characters to the breaking point on the rack of carnal temptation. Many authors delude themselves that the delineation of characters whose nerves are more tensely strung than others, or of abnormal occasions, is setting forth life in its entirety. This has never been the literary creed of Marie Ebner. Only once, perhaps, has she pictured a character in the clutches of sexual temptation. Her whole nature revolts at the philosophy of Guy de Maupassant that sex, on its biological side, is the most prominent thing in life. "I consider love," says one of her characters, "the most terrible means which an angry deity has invented for visiting punishment on his creatures." This we may hold to be her own feelings in the matter.

The questions thus sketchily mentioned do not exhaust the interests and problems treated by Baroness von Ebner-Eschenbach. She has also taken up in her writings the more local ones of the relation of the Austrian nobility to the peasantry and middle class, and to the new social order, of the Catholics, Protestants, and Jews to one another, and of the Germans to the Slavs. She has shown her broad-mindedness not only in the number of her interests but quite as much in the spirit in which she has approached her problems. She has depicted peasants and even outcasts with as much sympathy and truth as the nobility of the rural estates, or as the grandees of the court. She has a knack of getting at human motives everywhere, of appreciating the good in a villager with the same sureness of vision as the evil and foibles of her own class, the aristocracy. One need not read far into the pages of Marie Ebner to convince himself on this point. Then, too, she knows child psychology well, and not the least of all, she delights in portraying animals. One of her very best short stories is that of *Krambambuli*, the poacher's dog. Throughout many of her tales we hear the tramping of horses, the baying of hounds, the sound of the hunter's horn, and we catch glimpses of the green of the hunting uniforms—all this with the accuracy of delineation of one thoroughly versed in the lore of the chase.

Her pictures of peasants, nobles, pariahs, villagers, courtiers, of bare interiors, and of drawing-rooms, of hovels, and of castles, of fields, woods, and hills, and of city crowds, of urban haste, and of the glamor of the court, but most of all her drawing of the human heart under multifarious conditions, with its mixture of

good and evil instincts, mark Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach as one who knows life—and that at first hand.

In conclusion, let me quote from the pen of one of her biographers, Moritz Necker, an appreciation of this attractive figure of modern German literature. I translate very freely. "In our day we often hear the ideal nobility spoken of as the goal toward which our civilization is striving. In a very real sense Marie Ebner belongs to such a nobility. The coveted instincts of large-heartedness, of magnanimity, of enterprise, of that tact which cannot be learned but only developed, of *savoir-vivre*, of graciousness in expression and action, which we all recognize as the hall marks of true aristocracy, are hers. She has not only acquired these qualities by the accident of birth, but she has increased them by her own efforts and brought them to the perfection which we all love and admire in her. Here, in its purest form, we find personality—that ideal which today is preached from every house top. It is not the self-conscious kind which parades itself as before a mirror but that which has been forming during a lifetime of the greatest industry and self-forgetful activity. She possesses a clear, keen mind; she is practical yet capable of great enthusiasm, idealistic but little given to theorizing, profound without confusion of ideas, clever without affectation, good but not sentimental. And all these qualities are in perfect balance: here there is that harmony between thought and action, theory and practice such as we have seldom seen since the passing of the Olympian, Goethe. . . . To unite goodness and force is the ideal of our time but never have they been so perfectly joined as in the character of Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach."

## Edgar Allan Poe and Mrs. Whitman

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE

Author of "Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century", etc.

The most interesting, perhaps because the most tumultuous, of all Edgar Allan Poe's love affairs was the one which he had with Mrs. Whitman of Providence. The first sight which we get of her suggests that she was not framed on the ordinary model of her sex. "When a little girl," says Mrs. T. H. Kellogg, "I was one evening sitting on the front steps when she and her sister, Miss Powers, crossed over to our house. They went into the parlour, and I heard Mrs. Whitman ask my sister to sing for her the *Mocking Bird*. She appreciated my sister's beautiful singing, but on this occasion, while she was in the very midst of *Listen to the Mocking Bird*, suddenly a cloud of white rushed past me like a tornado, and I heard Mrs. Whitman's voice exclaiming excitedly: 'I have it, I have it.' It seems that the beautiful music and singing had excited in her some poetic thought, and regardless or forgetful of conventionalities, she had impulsively rushed home to put it in writing, or perhaps in poetry, before it should vanish."

The last view which we have of her in her old age shows that time had not diminished her eccentricities. "Her dimly-lighted parlour," says Thomas Wentworth Higginson, describing his visit to her, "was always decked here and there with scarlet, and she sat robed in white, with her back always turned to the light, thus throwing a discreetly tinted shadow over her still thoughtful and noble face. She seemed a person embalmed while still alive."

It was Mrs. Whitman's habitual practice throughout life, as we thus see, to dress in white regardless of the season of the year; and robed in this conspicuous manner, it was her custom to spend much of her time in the beautiful garden belonging to her home in Providence, where she was able to indulge in poetical musings without interruption, but not without observation. Poe, visiting Providence, and wandering from his hotel after nightfall, caught, as he slowly passed the Whitman residence, an enchanting glimpse of her white figure, half reclining upon a "violet bank", while her face was romantically "upturned" to the

silvery moon as though "in sorrow". Could there have been a more poetical juxtaposition?

Poe must have known who the lady was, for writing in June, 1848, he declared that he had seen Mrs. Whitman in the garden at Providence, although not at that time personally acquainted with her. He himself asserts that the first time her name fell on his ear had been many years before while he was stopping in Lowell. The person who then mentioned it to him had emphasized her eccentricities and her sorrows. The poet afterwards averred that this casual reference had made a deep impression on his heart at once. But was this not an after-thought? When he visited Lowell on this occasion, his wife was still alive, and Mrs. Whitman was simply one of many interesting women known to him only by reputation. As soon as practical circumstances arose to direct his gaze intently towards her as a woman at once eligible and attractive,—then, and perhaps not until then, did his mind revert, for the first time, to the conversation with her friend in Lowell. If all subterfuges are really fair in love and war, then he is to be pardoned for exaggerating, in language of supreme eloquence, the effect which had been produced on him by the eulogistic words of that friend.

Thoughts, sentiments, traits, and moods, he affirmed in the first letter which he wrote to Mrs. Whitman, were attributed to her by this friend, "which I knew to be my own, but which, until that moment, I had believed to be my own solely,—unshared by any human being. A profound sympathy took immediate possession of my soul. . . . From that hour I loved you." But the very strength of this feeling, according to his own protestation, led him to avoid her society. He recalls that, in passing through Providence not long afterwards, he declined to accompany Mrs. Osgood, who was with him, on a visit to the Whitman home. "I dared neither go nor say why I could not. I dared not speak of you,—much less see you. . . . Your name never passed my lips, while my soul drank in with a delicious thirst all that was uttered in my presence respecting you."

This was in 1845,—several years before Poe met Mrs. Whitman in her own drawing-room for the first time face to face. Virginia, his wife, was still alive, and apparently with her approval, he had been ardently pursuing Mrs. Osgood. It is quite probable that

he refused to call on Mrs. Whitman at this time, either because he was aware that the position in which he had placed both Mrs. Osgood and himself was equivocal, or because his infatuated friendship for the latter lady,—for it seems to have been no more,—had made him indifferent for the moment to the charms of other women, however great their genius might be either in his or their own estimation. Certainly his assertion that he had been nursing a secret passion for Mrs. Whitman is not likely to have deceived even her romantic and egotistic temper. Three years afterwards, (February 14, 1848), the poet's intense feeling for her having, according to his own extravagant description, grown, although it had had nothing to feed on, he received a valentine from her addressed to him as the author of the *Raven*. "I lost myself," he exclaims, "for many weeks in one continuous delicious dream where all was a vivid yet indistinct bliss. . . . I yielded at once to an over-whelming sense of fatality. From that hour, I have never been able to shake from my soul the belief that my destiny, for good or evil, either here or hereafter, is, in some measure, interwoven with your own."

High-wrought as his emotions had become, if credence is to be placed in his own representations, Poe was not incited to compose an original poem as a reply to the valentine, but instead sent Mrs. Whitman the already famous lines *To Helen* which had been inspired by the beauty and loveliness of Mrs. Stanard. This copy was even in print, but unsigned. As no acknowledgement was made of its reception, he now enclosed an original poem, addressed *To Helen*, in his own handwriting, but without his signature.

"The mere thought," he afterwards wrote, "that your dear fingers would press, your sweet eyes dwell upon characters which had welled out upon the paper from the depths of so sweet a love, filled my soul with a rapture which seemed then all sufficient for my human nature."

Mrs. Whitman, after receiving the poet's lines, remained silent for two months, and then sent him, in her own handwriting, two stanzas of her poem entitled *A Night in August*. The envelope was incorrectly addressed; and it was almost by accident that the verses finally reached him in Richmond, whither he had gone. He regarded, or pretended to regard, their safe delivery, after a

circuit full of vicissitudes, as an auspicious fatality; for, said he, "I was about to depart on a tour and an enterprise which would have changed my very nature,—fearfully altered my very soul,—steeped me in a stern, cold, and debasing, although brilliant, gigantic ambition, and bore me far, far away from you, sweet, sweet Helen, and the divine dream of your love."

Poe and Mrs. Whitman met for the first time in September, (1848), after his return to the North from Richmond. Obtaining a letter of introduction from Miss Blackwell, a common friend, he presented it in person in Providence. He had already written to Miss Blackwell, during the latter's visit to that city in June, with the probable hope that the missive would be read by Mrs. Whitman. "Do you know her?", he had inquired, "I feel deep interest in her poetry and character. Miss L. told me many things about the romance of her character, which singularly interested me, and excited my curiosity. Her poetry is beyond question poetry,—instinct with genius. Can you not tell me something about her,—anything,—everything you know, and keep my secret; that is to say, let no one know that I have asked you to do so?"

Miss Blackwell was evidently too shrewd to take this request as seriously intended, for, at the first opening, she gave the letter to Mrs. Whitman to read. The latter had just heard from another friend, Miss McIntosh, that the poet had recently, at Fordham, refused to talk upon any other topic but herself, when he found that his interlocutor knew her personally.

The history of modern romance contains few descriptions as vivid or as eloquent as Poe's of his first interview with Mrs. Whitman: "As you entered the room, pale, timid, hesitating, and evidently oppressed at heart; as your eyes rested appealing for one brief moment upon mine, I felt for the first time in my life, and tremblingly acknowledged, the existence of spiritual influences altogether out of the reach of reason. I saw that you were Helen, my Helen, the Helen of a thousand dreams,—she whose visionary lips had so often lingered upon my own in the divine trance of passion,—she whom the great giver of all good, preordained to be mine,—mine only, if not now also, then at least hereafter and forever in the Heavens. You spoke falteringly and seemed sincerely conscious of what you said. I heard no words,—only the soft voice more familiar to me than my own, and more melodious

than the songs of angels. Your hand rested within mine, and my whole soul shook with a tremulous ecstacy. . . . And when afterwards, on those two successive evenings of all Heavenly delight, you passed to and fro about the room, now sitting by my side, now far away, now standing with your hand resting on the back of my chair, while the preternatural thrill of your touch vibrated even through the senseless wood into my heart,—while you moved thus restlessly through the room, my brain reeled beneath the intoxicating spell of your presence. . . . I grew faint with the luxury of your voice, and blind with the voluptuous lustre of your eyes."

Two days after this spiritually tumultuous interview, Poe, while loitering in a cemetery, asked Mrs. Whitman to be his wife; but romantic as she professed herself to be, she, not unnaturally, was not ready to fall into his arms on so sudden an invitation, however ardently expressed. Nevertheless, he was not at once discouraged; at the moment of his writing his first letter to her (October 1st), his heart was still sanguine of success. "When I spoke to you of what I felt, saying that I loved now for the first time, I did not hope you would believe, or even understand me; nor can I hope to convince you now; but if, throughout some long dark summer night, I could but have held you close to my heart, and whispered you the strange secrets of its passionate history, then indeed you would have seen that I have been far from attempting to deceive you in this respect. I could have shown you that it was not, and could never have been, in the power of any other than yourself to have moved me as I am now moved,—to oppress me with this ineffable emotion,—to surround and bathe me in this electric light illumining and kindling my whole nature, filling my soul with glory, with wonder, and with awe."

Forgetting for the moment these passionate words, we may calmly ask the question: Did Poe act upon the impulse of genuine feeling, or upon mere calculation, in addressing Mrs. Whitman with such expedition? His haste was probably due to the two influences combined. His first enthusiasm was sincere; at the same time, knowing that her character was highly romantic, he may have supposed that, in declaring himself, precipitancy would impress her more in his favour than deliberation; and probably it would have done so had she been a much younger woman. At a

later date, when he had grown less hopeful of success, he seems to have been apprehensive lest she should have attributed a sordid motive to his rashness in testing her responsiveness so quickly. "I dreaded," he said, "to find you in worldly circumstances superior to mine. So great was my fear that you were rich, or at least possessed some property, which caused you to seem rich in the eyes of one so poor as I had always permitted myself to be,—that, on the day I refer to, I had not the courage to ask my informant any question concerning you. . . . Under no circumstances would I marry where interest, as the world terms it, could be suspected as, on my part, the object of the marriage. I was relieved next day by an assurance that you were chiefly dependent on your mother. May I,—dare I,—add, can you believe me when I say that the assurance was doubly grateful to me by the additional one that you were in ill-health and had suffered more from domestic trouble than falls usually to the lot of women."

## II.

From the very beginning of Mrs. Whitman's personal association with Poe, she was under the influence of the truculent dispragement of his character which she had been constantly hearing from the literary coterie to which she belonged, few members of which had escaped as unscathed as she had done from his critical lash. "How often I have heard it said of you," she remarked in a letter written about four weeks after the date of their first interview, "he has great intellectual power, but no principle, no moral sense".

Altogether justifiable was the bitterness of his reply: "You do not love me, or you would have felt too thorough a sympathy with the sensitiveness of my nature to have so wounded me as you have done with this terrible passage." With manly indignation, he resented the rude, cruel, and outrageous suggestion. "That many persons in your presence have declared me wanting in honour appeals irresistibly to an instinct of my nature,—an instinct which I feel to be honour, let the dishonourable say what they may, and forbids me under such circumstances to insult you with my love. . . . With the exceptional occasional follies and excesses which I bitterly lament, but to which I have been driven by intolerable sorrow, and which are hourly committed by oth-

ers without attracting any notice whatever,—I can call to mind no act of my life which would bring a blush to my cheek or to yours. If I have erred at all, it has been on the side of what the world would call a quixotic sense of the honorable,—of the chivalrous. The indulgence of this sense has been the true voluptuousness of my life. . . . You ask me why men so misjudge me, why I have enemies. If your knowledge of my character and my career does not afford you an answer to the query, at least it does not become me to suggest the answer. Let it suffice that I have had the audacity to remain poor that I might preserve my independence . . . that I have been a critic,—an unscrupulously honest one, and, no doubt in many cases, a bitter one,—that I have uniformly attacked, when I attacked at all, those who stood highest in power and influence; and that, whether in literature or society, I have seldom refrained from expressing, either directly or indirectly, the fierce contempt with which the pretensions of ignorance, arrogance, and imbecility inspire me. And you who know all this, ask me why I have enemies! Ah, I have a hundred friends for every individual enemy, but has it ever occurred to you that you do not live among my friends?"

This letter, at once full of dignity and full of feeling, was not only an answer to Mrs. Whitman's brusque aspersion, but it was also a refutation of the principal accusations of his backbiting enemies. If she had had a spark of genuine pity or affection for him,—which it would be inferred she did not have,—she would have been more softened by these poignant words than by all his burning protestations of love. Apparently, they did create some impression, for, when he saw her soon afterwards in Providence, while on his way to lecture in Lowell, she promised to reconsider his proposal, and write him before he should leave the latter city. Her reply, which reached him there, was still indecisive. Poe, intending to return to New York by way of Providence, wrote that he would call on an appointed date (November 4th), but before that date arrived, seemingly rendered as despondent by her irresolution as he had been by the fluctuations in his wife's health, he attempted to commit suicide by swallowing a large dose of laudanum. It was not until the 7th, that he had sufficiently recovered to appear. Mrs. Whitman, perhaps mortified by his failure to keep his engagement, and doubtless aware of the true reason for

it, declined at first to see him; but finally yielding to his importunities, consented to an interview. In the course of it, he implored her, with desperate eloquence, to marry him at once; but she seems to have again weakly contented herself with reading passages from a letter which she had received from New York reviling his character. Again he was deeply wounded, and leaving her abruptly, sent a note of renunciation. The same night he began drinking heavily, as he always did when greatly moved, and the next day called at the Whitman home in a state of uncontrollable excitement. "He hailed me," says Mrs. Whitman, "as an angel sent to save him from perdition."

Impressed with this romantic idea apparently for the first time, she now consented to a conditional engagement; and, on November 14, Poe left for New York under a pledge to drink no more. Was the now successful suitor in a state of blissful satisfaction? Not wholly so. "So kind, so true, so generous," he wrote her the very day of his departure, "so unmoved by all that would have moved one who had been less than angel,—beloved of my heart, of my imagination, of my intellect,—life of my life, soul of my soul, dear, dearest Helen, how shall I ever thank you as I ought! I am calm and tranquil, and but for a strange shadow of coming evil which haunts me, I should be happy. That I am not supremely happy even when I feel your deep love at my heart, terrifies me. What can this mean? Perhaps, however, it is only the necessary reaction after such terrible excitements."

Deep down in the secret closet of his own soul, the poet perhaps apprehended the early return of Mrs. Whitman's irresolution. Is this not the most probable explanation of the far from assured tone of his next letter? "Pardon me, Helen," he wrote on the 22nd, "if not for the love I bear you, at least for the sorrows I have endured. . . . My sole hope now is in you, Helen. As you are true to me or fail me, so do I live or die."

It would seem that the same fear was predominant in the second letter which he wrote her on the same day. "Am I right in the impression that you are ambitious? If so, and if you will have faith in me, I can and will satisfy your wildest desires. It would be a glorious triumph, Helen, for us,—for you and me . . . would it not be glorious, darling, to establish in America the sole unquestionable aristocracy, that of intellect,—to secure its su-

premacy,—to lead and control it? All this I can do, Helen, and will, if you bid me and aid me."

Wild appeals to her love had been followed by calm appeals to her ambition,—a grosser side to touch in the hope of strengthening his hold on her.

But the older and wiser mood soon comes back to him; he again remembers that the sentimental appeal is the only appeal worthy of a hearing in the Court of Love,—the only one indeed that will go straight to the heart of a sublimated woman like Mrs. Whitman. "Without well understanding why," he wrote her, "I had been led to fancy you ambitious. It was then, only then, when I thought of you, that I dwelt exultingly upon what I felt that I could accomplish in letters, and in literary influence,—in the widest and noblest field of human ambition. When I saw you, however,—when I touched your gentle hand, when I heard your soft voice, and perceived how greatly I had misinterpreted your womanly nature,—these triumphant visions melted sweetly away in the sunshine of a love ineffable, and I suffered my imagination to stray with you, and with the few who love us both, to the banks of some quiet river in some lovely valley in our land. Here, not too far secluded from the world, we exercised a taste controlled by no conventionalities, but the sworn slaves of a natural art, in the building for ourselves of a cottage, which no human being could ever pass without an ejaculation of wonder, at its strange, weird, and incomprehensible, yet most simple, beauty. Oh, the sweet and gorgeous but not often rare flowers in which we half buried it,—the grandeur of the magnolias and tulip trees which stood guarding it,—the luxuriant velvet of its lawn, the lustre of the rivulet that ran by the very door,—the tasteful yet great comfort of the interior,—the music,—the books,—the unostentatious pictures, and above all the love,—the love that threw an unfading glory over the whole. Alas, all is now a dream!"

On February 25th, he wrote again: "In little more than a fortnight, dearest Helen, I shall once again clasp you to my heart. Until then, I forbear to agitate you by speaking of my wishes,—of my hopes, and especially of my fears. You say that all depends on my own firmness. If this be so, all is safe,—for the terrible agony which I have so lately endured,—an agony known only to my God and to myself,—seems to have passed my soul

through fire, and purified it from all that is weak. Henceforward I am strong,—this those who love me shall see, as well as those who have so relentlessly endeavoured to ruin me."

"I will forbear to speak of my fears." It would be inferred from these words that the poet did not really expect the consummation of the conditional engagement, even should he continue permanently strictly temperate. This was because he was acutely conscious of his enemies' schemes to destroy him in Mrs. Whitman's favorable opinion. He might give up stimulants forever, and yet he knew that these enemies would not abate one jot of their determination to thwart him in his suit.

His contemporaneous letters to Mrs. Richmond, his own reported utterances to Mrs. Hewitt,—all were in harmony with the fear intimated in this letter to Mrs. Whitman that she would never become his wife; and that the conditional engagement was practically no engagement at all. His anticipations turned out to be only too correct.

On December 20th, Poe found himself again in Providence, where he was to deliver a lecture. He now pleaded with Mrs. Whitman to marry him at once and return to Fordham. She finally yielded to his passionate urgings; but, at the same time, she rather inauspiciously decided to transfer all her property to her mother.

On the mortifying occasion when the poet was to affix his signature to the document carrying this out, he bore himself as if slightly intoxicated; but the impression of this fact was so far effaced that Mrs. Whitman consented to appoint the evening of the following Monday, December 25th, as the time for the ceremony. At noon on that day, she received a note from a friend informing her that the poet had, that morning, been seen drinking at the bar of his hotel. On this slender and irresponsible charge, which was disproved by Poe's perfect soberness when he reached the house, (Mrs. Whitman herself acknowledging that no evidence of the infringement of his promise was visible in his appearance or manner), she abruptly resolved, on the eve of the marriage, to defer it indefinitely; and in this resolution, she stubbornly persisted. "Gathering together some papers which he had intrusted to my keeping," she says, "I placed them in his hands, without a word of explanation or reproach, and utterly worn out

and exhausted by the mental conflicts, and anxieties, and responsibilities of the last few days, I drenched my handkerchief with ether, and threw myself on a sofa, hoping to lose myself in utter unconsciousness. Sinking on his knees beside me, he entreated me to speak to him,—to speak one word, but one word. At last, I responded almost inaudibly ‘What can I say?’ ‘Say that you love me, Helen.’ ‘I love you.’ These were the last words I ever spoke to him.”

Such was the melodramatic termination of this famous courtship, in which, with all his infirmities, Poe had perhaps appeared to more advantage than Mrs. Whitman. Various calumnies were spread abroad by his enemies as the cause of the final rupture of the engagement; for instance, it was said that, becoming intoxicated, he had acted so violently in the Whitman drawing-room that it had been found necessary to summon the police to eject him. This slander stung his pride to the quick. “No amount of provocation,” he wrote her, in the last communication he ever addressed to her, “shall induce me to speak ill of you, even in my own defence. If, to shield myself from calumny, however undeserved, or however unendurable, I find a need of resorting to explanations that might condemn or pain you, most solemnly do I assure you that I will patiently endure such calumnies rather than avail myself of any such means of refuting them. That you have in any way countenanced this pitiable falsehood, I do not and cannot believe,—some person equally your enemy and mine has been its author; but what I beg of you is to write me at once a few lines in explanation. . . . Your simple disavowal is all I wish. Heaven knows that I would shrink from wounding or grieving you. . . . May heaven shield you from all ill!”

To this letter Mrs. Whitman returned no reply.

Another report, which arose perhaps from a casual remark dropped by the poet in conversation with Mrs. Hewitt, was that he had deliberately intended to jilt the lady; and that he went to Providence for that purpose alone. It is to be regretted that his own language, not before the rupture of the engagement but afterwards, when, very naturally, he felt deeply aggrieved, seems to support this conclusion. Writing on January 11th, 1849, to Mrs. Richmond, several weeks subsequent to his return from Providence, he thus expressed himself: “I need not tell you, An-

nie, how great a burden is taken off my heart by my rupture with Mrs. W., for I had fully made up my mind to break the engagement." He had simply permitted an emotion of pique to drown his instinctive sense of chivalry. His brief letter to Mrs. Clemm to announce the expected date of the arrival of his bride and himself at Fordham, proves the groundlessness of his own assertion. But he did not stop with this discreditable outburst of chagrin. "From this day forth," he wrote Mrs. Richmond, "I shun the pestilential society of literary women. They are a heartless, unnatural, venomous, dishonourable set, with no guiding principle but inordinate self-esteem. Mrs. Osgood is the only exception I know."

These words were quite certainly levelled as much against the Elletts, Lynches, and Fullers, who had poisoned Mrs. Whitman's mind in judging him, as against Mrs. Whitman herself; but they undoubtedly reflected the bitterness of his feeling in recalling her. The only fact to condone their use was that they were addressed to an intimate friend in the secrecy of private correspondence.

After all, should not these words, if really intended in Mrs. Whitman's disparagement, be accepted in the spirit which Mrs. Osgood always exhibited towards him? "The wise and well informed," that lady remarked, "know how to regard as they should the impetuous anger of a spoiled infant baulked of its capricious will, the equally harmless and unmeaning frenzy of that stray child of feeling and passion."

After his death, Mrs. Whitman firmly refused to listen to attacks on his character; repeatedly declared that his memory was "dear and sacred to her"; and finally wrote a spirited vindication of his career. All this was admirable. In the secret recesses of her own heart, she, perhaps, regretted that she should have suffered to pass her only opportunity to be of lasting benefit to him in his life; and that out of a justifiable consideration for her own peace of mind, she should have turned a deaf ear to his appeals, and thus thrown him back again upon his downward course.

## General Lee in Grant's Petersburg Progress

NELLIE P. DUNN  
Richmond, Va.

When, on that famous Monday, the third of April, 1865, the advance line of attack on Petersburg found the city evacuated by the Confederate troops, almost the first Federal soldiers to enter her doors took possession of the office of the *Express* and, before the day was over, from its presses there issued number one, volume one, of *Grant's Petersburg Progress*. It was a single sheet, twelve by twenty inches in size, printed on one side of the paper. Its cry was "We are here!" Major Eden, 37th Wisconsin Volunteers, was editor, assisted by Captain Charles H. McCreery, 8th Michigan Veteran Volunteers and Chaplain D. Heagle. They proposed "to publish a live paper as long as circumstances will permit; that is, as long as we can steal the paper and get men detailed to set the type." Ten cents was the price. "We are not particular as to the medium of exchange; and will take Hardtack, Greenbacks, Cigars, postage stamps and in fact most any available currency, Confederate Bonds and Contrabands always excepted." Further copies were printed on both sides of the paper and contained more extended news. It was intended to issue the paper three times a week. I can find record of only four numbers, April 3rd, 5th, 7th and 10th, and it is reasonable to suppose that its career ended here. Major Eden made but a short stay in Petersburg and left Virginia on the 20th of April. He afterwards published a slight little volume called *Sword and Gun* and did not find this newspaper episode worth mentioning in its pages. Nowhere can I find a complete file of the *Progress*.\* Inquiry among our leading libraries reveals a few scattered copies. The Library of Congress owns two; the Wisconsin State Library, two; the Boston Library, one; the New York Public Library, three. The American Antiquarian Society had no knowledge that the paper had existed, and the Virginia libraries, so rich in war records,

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\*Since this article was prepared the writer has had the good fortune to discover the whereabouts of the assistant-editor of *Grant's Petersburg Progress*, Captain Charles H. McCreery, now a retired Presbyterian minister. He tells me there were but four issues. He owns a copy of each and recalls that he wrote some of the articles on Lee. He writes "I had then, and have now, unbounded admiration for General Lee, for his unsullied character as a Christian gentleman and for his remarkable gifts as a great military chieftain."

had never heard of it. The three time-yellowed copies before me came to light in an old garret in Petersburg. They are very much what one might expect to find, rather sordid, with a good deal of cheap vilification of the "traitor, Jeff. Davis," whom they consign "to perdition now and hereafter". The point of interest for us is the attitude of *Grant's Petersburg Progress* towards General Lee. In its issue of Friday, April 7th, it says:

The most intense interest is manifested throughout the country in the military operations now transpiring in Virginia and North Carolina. Many speculations are rife as to the whereabouts of Gen. Lee and his army, and the plans of the rebel leaders in their present desperate straits. . . . . Should it be Gen. Lee's design to form a junction with Johnston's forces at Danville, he will find dangers thickening on his pathway there—Sheridan with his cavalry will fall upon him in front and on his flanks while a large infantry force presses upon his retreating columns. . . . . Can Gen. Lee hope to defeat the combined armies—so flushed with recent victories—that will certainly confront him there and that, too, very soon? Or can he hope by rapidly concentrating his forces to crush either of the Union armies before the assistance of the other can be given? Or as a last resort will he consent to organize the men left him into guerrilla bands, with no hope of final success, but to give vent to deep, abiding hate? . . . . We have too high an opinion of his ability as a general to believe that he will ever consent to carry on such a barbarous warfare. . . . . We believe Gen. Lee will share the fate of his men. He has been a host in himself and has ever enjoyed the confidence and esteem of those under his command, and of the citizens of the South. Having done all in his power for the success of the cause he espoused, now rather than have unnecessary bloodshed and suffering by prolonging the contest, we shall not be surprised to hear that he has surrendered himself and army into the hands of Lieut. Gen. Grant.

In the last paper, dated April 10th, two long articles are devoted to Lee. I give them almost in their entirety. One is called:

## GEN. LEE'S HEADQUARTERS.

Saturday morning we availed ourselves of the opportunity of walking over the identical spot of earth once occupied as Headquarters by the Commander-in-chief of all the armies in the *proposed* Con. States. It is a picturesque little eminence about 2½ miles west of Petersburg, to the right of the highway going out from the city. The country all about is rolling and variegated with landscape and forest with little streams winding about here and there, and on the whole is one of the most romantic and beautiful localities we have seen anywhere in Va. The particular eminence occupied by Gen. Lee goes by the appellation of Edgehill, on the Plantation owned by Maj. Wm. Turnbull. . . . . It was in the house of this gentleman the distinguished Gen., since the 1st of Nov. last, made his residence. Gen. Lee's private life seems to have been unexceptional as to virtue not the "abstract of all the vices that men follow," as was the description of one of Rome's greatest military chieftains, but a model of Christian living. Twice every Sabbath he attended religious services, in the morning at St. Paul's and in the evening at Grace Church, both Episcopal; and his devotional living was always with him. No one ever heard a profane syllable from his lips and those lips were never a receptacle for tobacco nor drank whiskey—In fact the Gen. was totally free from all the common army vices. He is described as remarkably courteous to everybody in his manners, scrupulously respectful of private property and was always unimpedibly accessible to anyone on business. As to guards he never had any and the number of his orderlies could be counted on the fingers of a primary school boy. He had also but three staff officers. . . . . When riding about he was generally accompanied by but one orderly. We looked at the path where an eye-witness told us it was his custom to walk backward and forward with hands behind him and eyes bent downward, as if in meditation; especially while waiting for an orderly to bring his horse. . . . . The house was struck nine times by artillery projectiles, and was afterwards burned down by some stragglers from the Federal army. . . . . A coloured man has preserved the folding, single iron bedstead on which the General used to sleep; all his furniture was very simple" . . . .

The other article is entitled:

## GEN. LEE

The news arrived in this city, at a late hour last night, that Gen. Lee had surrendered with his whole army, at Pamplin's Depot, to Gen. P. Sheridan and so ends the secession movement in Virginia.\* Straggling bands of guerrillas may, and no doubt will for some months to come hover round the country and annoy citizens and soldiers by their acts of ruffianism and violence, but the days of heavy fighting are, we think, at an end in this section of the country. Perhaps no general on the Confederate side has been more conspicuous for his generalship and soldierly qualities than Robert E. Lee and while deprecating the mistaken ideas that led him to espouse the cause that he did, we shall find at the same time many qualities which are worthy of our respect and esteem, even in an enemy. We have been informed on good authority and have internal evidence to show that if Gen. Lee's advice had been listened to the step which he has now taken would have been made long ago, and the bloodshed and suffering of the last two months have been avoided. But the ambitious rancor of Davis and his associates in iniquity goaded Lee on, against his own better and more humane judgment, to maintain the struggle against fearful odds in numbers, with a disaffected and demoralized army, poorly armed, poorly fed and poorly clad. In surrendering himself and his men to a largely superior force, Robert Lee has in no way disgraced himself or them. The large force opposed to him, the number of desertions that took place from his force daily and almost hourly, his supplies all exhausted, his ammunition captured and his communications obstructed in every direction, but one course was left to him, consistent with the dictates of humanity and civilized warfare and that course he has chosen. True he might have dispersed his army in small bands and, scattering them round, have suffered them to devastate and pillage the country, but such an idea was foreign to his nature. . . . .

Surely here are curious proofs of the compelling quality of Lee's greatness—that greatness which stalked unconscious or unmindful of itself, something above praise, beyond applause, which, claiming no tribute, yet took toll of all men.

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\*Of course the surrender had been made to Gen. Grant at Appomattox.

# Recent Interpretations of American Life\*

EDWIN MIMS

Professor of English in Vanderbilt University

If Americans do not understand their own country, it will not be the fault of a constantly increasing number of books written by wise and thoughtful Americans and by intelligent foreigners. If Europeans do not understand the United States, it will not be the fault of visitors to this country nor of discriminating Americans whose experience abroad and life at home have given them the material for illuminating characterizations of their native land. Every season brings its quota of such books. We have scarcely finished reading Dr. Van Dyke's "Spirit of America" before we must give attention to Mr. Perry's "The American Mind." Mr. Bryce's monumental volumes recently brought out in a revised edition have as a successor a far less ambitious and more superficial book by Mr. Arnold Bennett. Paul Bourget's "Outre Mer" is followed by more than one volume of French journalists—even now we have in the current *Century Magazine* the impressionistic views of Pierre Loti. Professor Münsterberg's two books—one written for Americans and the other for Germans—are supplemented by the observations of more than one German professor, who, called upon to deliver lectures at American universities, feels impelled to interpret to his fellow countrymen the American people. Henry James's analytical and aesthetic interpretation of his native land must be judged in the light of the genial and illuminating essays of Mr. Crothers, who by reason of recent travels in Europe is enabled to see his own country in the light of the old world.†

To interpret a large and complex country with all sorts of people and very distinct provinces is not an easy task. There is a

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\**The American Mind.* By Bliss Perry. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1912; *Your United States.* By Arnold Bennett. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1912; *The Provincial American.* By Meredith Nicholson. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1912. *Humanity Speaking.* By S. M. Crothers. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1912.

†This article does not take into account the equally interesting chapters in Mr. Crothers' volume—"The Contemporaneity of Rome," "The Obviousness of Dickens," and other essays that enhance the author's reputation as the foremost contemporary American essayist.

good deal of truth in Mark Twain's comments on Paul Bourget's rather hasty impressions of the United States:

"There isn't a single human characteristic that can be safely labeled 'American'. There isn't a single human ambition, or religious trend, or drift of thought, or peculiarity of education, or code of principles, or breed of folly, or style of conversation, or preference for particular subjects for discussion, or form of legs or trunk or head or face or expression or complexion, or gait, or dress, or manners, or disposition, or any other human detail, inside or outside, that can rationally be generalized as 'American'. Whenever you have found what seems to be an 'American' peculiarity, you have only to cross a frontier or two, or go down or up in the social scale, and you perceive they have disappeared. And you can cross the Atlantic and find it again."

The American humorist might have had in mind Arnold Bennett's "Your United States" when he added: "A foreigner can photograph the exterior of a nation, but I think that is as far as he can get. I think that no foreigner can report its interior—its soul, its life, its speech, its thought." Indeed Mr. Bennett is modest enough not to claim more for his book than that it is, "an immediate account of the first tremendous impact of the United States on a mind receptive and unprejudiced. More could not be expected from six weeks of travel and observations. The excellent illustrations of the volume serve to indicate its nature—mere chance glimpses of streets, buildings, parks, theaters, educational institutions, etc. The author confesses in one chapter that he never saw the universities at work—only "the tremendous mechanical apparatus" of our educational system. In a recent magazine article he says: "What would not Balzac have done with Pittsburg, the sixteen-hour express between New York and Chicago, Wall Street, Mr. Morgan, and the wheat growing states? He would have said, 'This country is simply steeped in romance; it lies about in heaps; give me a pen quick, for Heaven's sake! while the rest of the world only exists the United States lives.' Now something of this restless vivid energy throbs in almost every line of Mr. Bennett's book.

It is refreshing to read a book on America in which the condescending spirit of an Englishman, looking down from the heights of centuries of traditions and art, is not in the least manifest. When he writes of our universities he does not compare them with Oxford and Cambridge, for these he has never seen; when

he writes of the skyscrapers of New York or Chicago, he does not think of cathedrals and public buildings centuries old, but is inclined to look to such cities for a new development of architecture that may have a world-wide significance. He pours his scorn upon American artists who simply imitate French and Italian art, but grows enthusiastic over the new possibilities opened up by Whistler's graphic art and Winslow Homer's American sketches. Our literature is immensely interesting to him because of its originality—he would give up all of Thackeray and George Eliot for Mark Twain's incomparable masterpiece, "Life on the Mississippi." He says that Poe has influenced European literature more than any other writer since Byron, and that Walt Whitman—"one of the world's supreme poets"—will loom larger and larger with the advancing years. He adds that one may look forward with confidence to the development of an American drama. He is most impressed, however, with the remarkable manifestations of material power—viz. our railroads, terminal stations, department stores, subways, extensive systems of parks and boulevards,—all the result of a certain heroic imagination. He is able to understand that the seeming commercialism of this country may be only "the slow flowering of a nation's secret spirits"—a means to a higher end.

One of Mr. Bennett's most vivid impressions is that of Indianapolis with its local flavor, its artistic homes, its Museum of Fine Arts, and its group of men of letters, one of whom, Mr. Meredith Nicholson, has recently written a popular American novel, and a series of essays entitled "The Provincial American"—a sort of glorification of the Hoosier section of this country. Mark Twain might have had Mr. Nicholson in mind when he said in the article already referred to:

"Does the native novelist try to generalize the nation? No, he lays plainly before you the ways and speech and life of a few people grouped in a certain place—his own place—and that is one book. In time he and his brethren will report to you the life and the people of the whole nation. . . . And when a thousand able novels have been written, there you have the soul of the people, the life of the people, the speech of the people; and not anywhere else can these be had."

Mr. Nicholson is frankly in love with Indiana and its capital city Indianapolis—these not altogether as they are now, but as

they were up to some fifteen or twenty years ago. He rejoices in the dialect, the detached homes, the provincial customs, the eagerness for all kinds of knowledge, the essential morality, the political wisdom, of these provincial people. He expresses his faith that there are planted here on the west fork of White River some of the roots of essential America: "If we are not typical Americans we offer the nearest approach to it that I in my incurable provincialism know where to lay my hands on." He is proud of being a provincial American himself; he speaks of and for those who "flung by fate upon the world's by-ways, shuffle and shrink under the reproach of the metropolitan brethren." The Hoosiers have a certain humor that is like that of Lincoln in its homeliness and its wisdom; they have a religious sense that until recently caused citizens not to make any other engagements for Thursday evenings because of the prayer-meetings; they have social customs that resented the introduction of cocktails. And they are not without culture; for "What we lack we seek, and what we strive for we shall gain." They know most of the "Commemoration Ode" and all of the "Gettysburg Address" by heart, "They are the Americans to whom Lincoln became as one of Plutarch's men and for whom Longfellow wrote 'The Children's Hour' and on whom Howells smiles quizzically in complete understanding." They have curiosity—in the French and Matthew Arnold sense of the word; art, music, literature, politics,—nothing that is of contemporaneous human interest is alien to them. "Those of our Western school teachers who don't see Europe for three hundred dollars every summer get at least as far East as Concord, to be photographed 'by the rude bridge that arched the flood.'"

Mr. Nicholson is forced to lament, however, that Indianapolis, in passing the two hundred-thousandth mark, is losing many of the provincial characteristics of the earlier day, that it is succumbing to the drab uniformity of American life. Typical of this transition is "the tired business man," of whom we have a penetrating sketch in this volume: "Innumerable Smiths, not yet so prosperous as the old friend I encountered in Berlin, are abandoning their flower-gardens and the cozy verandas (sacred to neighborhood confidences on the long summer evenings) and their gusty registers for compact and steam-heated apartments with only the roof garden overhead as a breathing place." There is

little compensation for increasing wealth and luxury in the loss of homebred virtues and a certain elemental humanity. The loss by such men of their interest in the church—a fact due in part to the failure of the church to become adjusted to the conditions of modern life—is paralleled by their loss of faith in national ideals and their selfish disregard of the social unrest of the masses.

The same sort of study might be made of half a dozen other provinces of the United States; in fact, the passing away of distinctly local qualities is implicit in scores of short stories and novels. There is a sense in which Mr. Crothers is right in claiming that despite all local differences, there are certain ways of thinking and feeling that are common to the people of this country. According to this genial philosopher, the American frontiersman—whether we consider Daniel Boone or Davy Crockett or Abraham Lincoln—is perhaps the type that best distinguishes the American people. "Expectant curiosity" with regard to a future development is a dominant note in our national life; we have been in the habit of "dealing with things which turn out to be better than at first they seem." "The unknown takes on a friendly guise and awakens a pleasant curiosity. That is the experience of generations of pioneers and prospectors." Now this same quality which has been manifest in all our history is a marked characteristic of our greatest thinkers, such as Emerson and William James. Emerson's optimism, claims Mr. Crothers, is due not to his ignoring the darker side of things, but to his American reliance on the triumph over conditions, which, humanly speaking, are impossible. You can never tell how anything will turn out till you try; the present condition may be bad but there is room for making it better. The forward look, so marked in all of Emerson's addresses and essays, is but the doctrine of "manifest destiny," spiritually discerned.

Very illuminating is the author's contention that William James is a natural product of this same American tendency; only in this country could his Pragmatism have arisen. James was the linchmal descendant of our Daniel Boones.

"He was led by instinct from the crowded highways to the dim border-land of human experience. He preferred to dwell in the debatable land. . . . He loved the wilderness of thought where shy wild things hide—half hopes, half realities. They are not quite true now,—but they may

be by and by. . . . Truth to him was not a field with metes and bounds. It was a continent awaiting settlement. First the bold pathfinders must venture into it. Its vast spaces were infinitely inviting, its undeveloped resources were alluring. . . . the one thing he demanded was space. His universe must not be finished or closed. . . . Do not those words give us a glimpse of the American mind in its natural working. Its genius is anticipatory. It is searching for a common ground in which all may meet."

The same sort of pioneer work—now that the real physical frontier has vanished—is manifest in the present progressive movement in politics. Mr. Crothers says to a "citizen of the old school:"

"If you would understand the driving power of America, you must understand 'the divers discontented and impatient young men' who in each generation have found in the American wilderness an outlet for their energy. . . . Instead of settling down to herb-tea and elegies, young America having finished one big job, is looking for another. The noises which disturb you are not the cries of an angry proletariat, but are the shouts of eager young fellows who are finding new opportunities. They have the same desire to do big things, the same joy in eventful living, that you had thirty years ago. . . . They represent today the enthusiasm of a new generation. They represent the Oregons and Californias toward which sturdy pioneers are moving undisturbed by obstacles." This is what the social unrest means in America. "It is not the unrest of the weak and unsuccessful, it is the unrest of the strong and ambitious. You cannot still it by talking about prosperity; of course we are prosperous after a fashion, but it is a fashion that no longer pleases us."

Much to the same effect speaks Mr. Perry in his excellent chapters on "Romance and Reaction," and "Individualism and Fellowship." Both these citizens of academic Cambridge are sensitive to the spirit of the West and to the true romance of American history. Despite the alleged reaction against democracy they are both in sympathy with the more recent manifestations of democracy in the Western commonwealths. But Mr. Perry has the larger perspective—in one compact volume he has suggested the essential facts in our history, has surveyed the national—and local—traits and ideals as expressed in our literature.

"The American Mind" is therefore a more ambitious book than any of those under review. Despite the author's recognition of the difficulty in his way—the danger of generalizations with so many complex details—he has succeeded to a remarkable degree

in interpreting the American mind—and heart. If I may recur again to Mark Twain's words about interpreters of America, they will indicate the distinctive reason why Mr. Perry is especially fitted to write such a book:

"I think that a knowledge of these things is acquirable in only one way; not two or four or six—*absorption*; years and years of intercourse with the life concerned; of living it, indeed sharing personally in its shame and pride, its joys and griefs, its loves and hates, its prosperities and adversities, its shows and shabbiness, its deep patriotisms, its whirlwinds of political passions, its admirations—of flag, and heroic dead, and the glory of the national name. Observation? Of what real value is it? One learns people through the heart, not the eye, or the intellect."

Mr. Perry has all the advantages enumerated.

In addition to his intimate knowledge of American literature, he has had unusual opportunities to understand American life. As professor at Princeton and Harvard he has come in contact with representative American youths; as editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* for a number of years he was necessarily conversant with the leading tendencies of American thought and creative work; as popular lecturer in many parts of the country he has studied at first hand local customs and ideals; and furthermore as an expert student of American fiction, he knows as few of our critics the very form and pressure of our varied life. More recently as Hyde Lecturer at the Sorbonne he interpreted American literature and American life to representative French audiences. To some of us who heard these lectures and who rejoiced in the hearty response that they met with in Paris, it has been a source of wonder that Mr. Perry did not publish them in a book. Perhaps, however, that particular volume had already been anticipated by another of the same general type; at any rate it would seem now that, after his return to this country, and with the added experience of his life abroad, he has chosen to write in another book, primarily for his own countrymen, his estimate of the American people. The result is, to be somewhat frank, at first glance disappointing; but the more one reads it, the more impressed he is with the author's accurate and extensive knowledge, his discriminating generalizations, his genuine patriotism somewhat sobered by foreign residence, and withal his suggestive, rich, and at times beautiful style. A delicate humor per-

vades it, and a mellowness of tone and sentiment. The final impression is that of a scholar who has in no way suffered academic ideals and traditions to deaden his sympathy with the life of the whole country, past and present. Such a book makes the reader a better American.

The lectures, when given in California, Boston, and Brooklyn, first bore the title "American Traits in American Literature." But the author was right in adopting the present title. It is true that a large part of the book is taken up with American writers—and of these we have some very felicitous characterizations—but we are constantly made aware of the fact that American literature does not express the whole of American life. The author is especially concerned with doing justice to the latent poetry and idealism of colonial times and to our civic writing—a sort of writing which has been incidental to the accomplishment of some political, social, or moral purpose, and which scarcely regards itself as literature at all.

He finds it comparatively easy to discover the American mind in politics—an essential unity of opinion with regard to the existing government and the fundamental questions of government. He discusses with acuteness the versatility, curiosity, quick assimilation and alertness of the American mind, not failing to note the danger of the oratorical temperament, and the reckless exaggeration of journals and magazines, the inexperience and amateurishness due to isolation. Recognizing the justice of foreign criticism of these defects—"the commonness of mind and tone," he asks, "May it not be better after all, to have gone without a code for a while, to have lacked that orderly and methodized and socialized European intelligence, and to have had the glorious sense of bringing things to pass in spite of it? . . . No doubt our existence has been, in some respects, one of barbarism but it has been the barbarism of life and not of death."

Of the moral traits of Americans he emphasizes "the dynamic national energy" with something of the same point of view as that of Mr. Bennett. Idealism in education and religion, and optimism which is a sort of spirit of romantic enthusiasm, are fully set forth. Acute is the characterization of our contradictory qualities—the conflict between radicalism and conservatism, indi-

vidualism and public spirit. A characteristic extract of such paradoxes is:

"How that 'both'—'as also' keeps echoing in American history; 'both' to Christianize the negro and work him at a profit, 'both' duty and advantage in retaining the Philippines; 'both' international goodwill and increased armament; 'both' Sunday morning precepts and Monday morning practice; 'both' horns of a dilemma; 'both' God and Mammon; did ever a nation possess a more marvelous watertight compartment method of believing and honoring opposites?"

None of these contradictions in the national character can interfere with Mr. Perry's faith in the future of his country. The last word of the book is an optimistic forecast of the future of the Republic and of the literature which shall express its life: "We, too, shall outgrow in time our questioning, our self-analysis, our futile comparison of ourselves with other nations, our self-conscious study of our own national character. . . . With fellowship based upon individualism, and with individualism ever leading to fellowship, America will perform its vital tasks, and its literature will be the unconscious and beautiful utterance of its inner life."

# Military Criticism by General William R. Boggs

WILLIAM K. BOYD

Professor of History in Trinity College

No military conflict has ever been the theme of so many memoirs by its participants as the American Civil War. The narratives of Sherman and Johnston, McClellan and Longstreet, Grant and Hood, Schofield and Mosby, and of other leading generals are but the vanguard of an almost endless amount of similar testimony. Indeed it seems that the cherished desire of well-nigh every patriot engaged, if he had the gift of self-expression, has been to give to posterity an account of his part in our great national tragedy, and as the ties of mortal life weaken, this desire becomes stronger. Hence as the number of survivors diminishes, the number of memoirists increases, so that during the past decade the publication of personal accounts of the Civil War seems to rival that of the earlier years just after the conflict when the memory of all readers was full of military recollections.

It is therefore eminently fitting that the Reminiscences of General William R. Boggs should be given to the public.\* Their value well merits the attention of all interested in Confederate military history. By taste and training General Boggs was a soldier, having graduated with high honors from West Point. His military activity under the Confederacy was entirely in fields which popular interest too often neglects, the erection of fortifications on the coast and the Confederate operations in Kentucky and the southwest. Even more important is the fact that he wrote for the information of his children, not for the public. His criticisms are therefore those of a professional soldier, stated most frankly and without reservation, concerning Confederate operations too often overshadowed in the memory of Southerners by the glories of the Virginia battlefields.

The ancestors of William Robertson Boggs were distinguished in both civil and military affairs. His maternal great-grandfather was "Scotch Billy" Robertson of Chesterfield County, Virginia, who served in the colonial wars. The next in line, John Robertson, likewise served the colony and his son, William Rob-

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\*The Reminiscences of General Boggs will soon be published by the Trinity College Historical Society. This article is based on the manuscript.

ertson (1786-1859) removed from Virginia to Abbeville, South Carolina, served in the South Carolina militia during the Second War with Great Britain, and afterwards became surveyor, then Superintendent, of the South Carolina Railroad, and also manager of a line of steamboats on the Savannah River. His wife was Pamela Moseley, daughter of Joseph Moseley who had migrated from Virginia to South Carolina contemporaneously with the Robertsons. Their daughter, Mary Ann, married Archibald Boggs, a merchant of Augusta, Georgia. To them were born nine children. Of these seven survived infancy. Three sons, William Robertson, Robert, and Archibald, served in the Confederate army. Of the four daughters two remained single and two married brothers of the Butt family; one, Pamela Robertson became the wife of Joshua Willing Butt, one of their sons being Major Archie Butt, who lost his life in the Titanic disaster of April, 1912; the other, Catherine Joyner, married J. D. Butt, who served in W. H. T. Walker's Brigade of Georgia troops.

William Robertson, the oldest of the above named children, was born at Augusta, March 18, 1829. Comparatively little is known of his early youth but his training and associations awakened talents quite in keeping with those of his ancestors. His preparatory education was secured at the old Augusta Academy. Very soon his interest in science was awakened. Once he heard a lecture on the impossibility of applying steam navigation to the ocean; at another time he saw the principle of "galvanism" illustrated with a small battery, but the impracticability of its use for industrial purposes on account of the high cost of mercury was pointed out. Once he and his playmates gave his great-grandfather, Joseph Moseley, an account of a steamboat they had seen on the Savannah River. According to tradition the old gentleman listened politely, then gave each narrator a sound thrashing for trying to impose on his credulity. Later when Mr. Moseley himself saw a steam boat at Augusta he gave each of the boys five dollars in gold as recompense for the chastisement.

Young Boggs' summers were spent at the Sand Hills, now Summerville, South Carolina, then as now a resort. There an interest in military life was aroused by visits to the army post located near by. Born with traditions of fighting and engineering,

with a latent interest in science and military affairs awakened, it was natural for him to find his way to the leading scientific as well as the best military school of the time, the United States Military Academy at West Point. He entered as a cadet from Georgia in July, 1849 at the age of twenty and graduated four years later among the first five of his class.

Among the students at the Academy at that time were many who later gained distinction in both the Union and Confederate armies. Among Boggs' class mates were John B. McPherson, Philip H. Sheridan and John M. Schofield, later Union generals, and John B. Hood of the Confederate service. Cadet Boggs ranked high in his class and in the entire student body. At the end of his first year he was tenth in scholarship in a class of seventy-four, second in conduct among the entire 221 cadets enrolled. At the close of the second year he was second among his class mates in point of scholarship, being surpassed only by McPherson, and in conduct tenth in the entire academy. The third year found his scholarly standing unchanged, but his rank in conduct ninth. At graduation in 1853 his rank in scholarship had dropped to fourth, that in conduct had risen to third.

Traditions of his student life at West Point centre around artistic rather than military tastes. In 1851 while Boggs was on adjutant duty a new cadet entered. His name was James McNeill Whistler. Boggs was at once interested in the new matriculate because the lad's father had attained distinction as an engineer. Whistler soon formed the habit of visiting the adjutant's office; frequently he spent the time in sketching scenes described in books or suggested by life at the academy. Boggs preserved three drawings illustrative of West Point, two suggested by characters in Dickens, and one representing Russian soldiers. In 1852 through Boggs' influence a drawing of Whistler's—the wood-cut also being carved by Whistler—was used to decorate the dance cards for the academy ball.

Boggs' talents were evidently for the scientific problems of military service. On graduation he was made Brevet-Second Lieutenant and was assigned to the Topographical Bureau, and spent some time in the office of the Pacific Railroad Surveys. In 1854 he was transferred to the Ordnance Corps and was made assistant at the Watervliet Arsenal, Troy, New York. In De-

ember of the same year he became Second Lieutenant and in 1856 he was promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant. While at Watervliet Arsenal he married Mary Sophia, daughter of Col. John Symington, the commandant, the date of their marriage being December 19, 1855. In 1857 he was transferred to the Louisiana Arsenal at Baton Rouge, Louisiana; in 1859 he became inspector of Ordnance at Point Isobel, Texas, and on December 14 took part in an engagement with Cortino's Mexican Marauders near Fort Brown for which he was given honorable mention by General Scott. Soon after he was transferred to the Alleghany Arsenal at Pittsburg, to which Col. Symington had also been assigned. Evidently the service that opened before Lieutenant Boggs in the Army of the United States was that of scientific expert rather than the command of troops.

In 1861 the choice of fighting with or against his native state was forced upon him. He did not believe in the wisdom of secession, but like many of his countrymen he cast his destiny with the south, resigning from the United States Army the very day that the Georgia Convention adopted an ordinance of secession. Altogether twenty-two relatives by blood or marriage entered the Confederate armies. His father-in-law, however, having been born in Delaware, having been appointed to the Academy from Maryland, and having spent thirty-five years in the Army, remained in the United States service. Yet friendship and interest in his son-in-law were not interrupted. On January 31, 1861 he wrote,—“So my dear Boggs, the deed is done so far as your resignation is concerned, and we must look into the future with hope that this change may eventuate to your full satisfaction and prosperity. You are of the right stuff and I have every confidence that, from your energy, perseverance and upright honesty you will succeed in any object you may give your attention to.”

The nature of Boggs' service in the Confederacy was similar to that in the Army of the United States, that of an engineer and ordnance officer. He was always on staff duty and was never given the command of troops. His criticisms of military operations therefore suggest the observer rather than the leader of men. This characteristic, together with his scientific training and utter frankness, give a distinct value to his account of the three operations in which he was active, perfecting fortifications and sup-

plies in 1861, Kirby Smith's invasion of Kentucky in 1862, and Kirby Smith's administration west of the Mississippi from 1863 to 1865.

When Lieutenant Boggs resigned from the Army of the United States, he tendered his services to the State of Georgia and was immediately appointed to the staff of Governor Brown. He was soon intrusted with the duty of purchasing supplies for his native state.

"One of my first suggestions," he says, "was that he (Gov. Brown) send some trusty person to Europe for the express and sole purpose of purchasing an outfit for the manufacture of small arms; that if this was done at once, it could be brought in before a blockade could be established. Mr. King, T. Butler King I think, was written to and accepted. It was arranged that I, with a master armorer, should meet him in Philadelphia. I lost some time waiting but he never came. On my return to Milledgeville I suggested to the Governor that Mr. King was probably waiting the formation of the Confederate Government so that he might act for both. Such proved to be the case and we got no Armory."

On his return from the north he began the work of converting the Georgia Penitentiary into an arsenal and gun factory. Before the task was completed he was transferred to Charleston, South Carolina, to assist General Beauregard in placing the fortifications in shape for war. The impressions he received did not indicate efficiency or fore-sightedness on the part of those in authority.

"At Fort Moultrie," he says, "the small but important omission of putting the swinging props under the trails of the gun carriages had caused the guns to dismount themselves when fired with shot. Anderson no doubt removed these props before he abandoned the Fort. Their only fuses were old style wooded mortar fuses and for economy they had been sawed into two or more pieces; the shock of the discharge would drive the small ends into the shell and explode the shell either in the gun or just after leaving it. Their mortar beds were made of wood, from patterns intended for iron and brass. Morris Island beach was exposed to an enfilading fire from Fort Sumter and required heavy epaulments to protect its batteries from that fire. We remained with General Beauregard until Governor Brown summoned us to Savannah.

"I had ordered from Andersons Foundry at Richmond an unlimited number of heavy guns, with the irons for their carriages and four hundred rounds each of shot and shell for each gun. They were to be shipped, as fast as made, in box cars, by the way of the East Tennessee R. R. In daily expectation that these guns would begin to arrive, we de-

terminated, not only to arm Fort Pulaski, but also to occupy Tybee Island and to place some of the guns in lunettes on the Island. The guns ordered by me were diverted by the Honorable Secretary of war, and sent to Mobile; wherefore Fort Pulaski was never armed or Tybee Island occupied."

From Charleston he was recalled in March by Governor Brown and was soon sent to Montgomery where he was given temporary charge of the Ordnance Bureau of the Confederate States Army. He found everything in confusion.

"My first care," he writes, "was to examine the appropriations for the ordnance department. I found them most picayune; the appropriation for gunpowder was not sufficient to have fired the guns mounted at Pensacola for two days, and the appropriation was for one year. All other material was in the same ratio. I made haste to inform the Secretary of War. He told me that the appropriations were for a peace establishment, that treaty commissioners had been sent to Washington and we must do nothing that implied war. I satisfied him that even for a peace establishment the appropriations were too small. I finally succeeded in getting an additional appropriation.

"On my return to Montgomery, I found several proposals from English houses to furnish many much needed supplies. The proposals were very liberal in every respect, they even offered for 10 per cent of the original cost to run the blockade and deliver guns to the C. S. A., and no harm could have arisen from accepting them. They remained unacted upon, either upon the supposition that the United States would permit us to depart in peace, or because the proper person to have charge of such affairs, had not yet come South. I never knew, and it was soon too late."

In April Boggs was sent to Pensacola to assist General Bragg in erecting defenses. He found the first urgent need to be supplies for the troops. To meet it he spent \$40,000 which had been entrusted to his use. A second problem was the rearrangement of the defenses. To this end Boggs removed the barbette guns from the forts and placed them along the bluffs overlooking the harbor and along the beach, and erected a concealed battery south of Fort McRee. With these arrangements completed, it was the intention to attack Fort Pickens which was held by the Federals. The plan was frustrated by the credulity of Bragg, who allowed Lieutenant Worden, of the United States Army, to cross from Pensacola to the Federal fleet. Immediately Fort Pickens was strongly reinforced. The effectiveness of the Confederate defenses was also impaired by the arbitrary action of Bragg. While

Boggs was temporarily absent he placed a battery of casement guns in the open, south of Fort McRee. These, having about one-half the range of the barbette guns, were ineffective during the Federal bombardment and Fort McRee was silenced. But the Federal men-of-war, the *Niagara* and the *Richmond*, as they reached the shore were forced to retire by Boggs' concealed battery. "It was sometime in the afternoon," says Boggs, "when I observed them swing around head on, and saw them move slowly up to a new position; having no other means after they had taken up their new position and commenced firing, I got their distance by sight and sound. My first shot, afterwards so reported, passed between the masts of the *Richmond* and the second one hulled the ship so effectively as to disable her. When some of her timbers floated ashore next day my Georgians claimed them, and Bragg endorsed their claim."

While at Pensacola Boggs became discontented with the policy of the Confederate War Department. He saw places of high rank in the Army given to civilians while young officers like himself failed to get promotion. Bragg, on behalf of the officers under him, complained of the discrimination but the most he could secure for Boggs was a nominal appointment as Superintendent of the Louisiana State Seminary, a military school. However the relations between Boggs and Bragg became cool; an estrangement gradually developed, with the result that Boggs resigned from the service of the Confederate States and re-entered that of the state of Georgia. According to the correspondent of a northern newspaper the immediate cause of Boggs' resignation was a quarrel arising from the second bombardment of Pensacola, which was precipitated during Bragg's temporary absence by a Confederate boat trying to run from Pensacola down to the navy yard. When Bragg returned he took his subordinates to task. "Report has it that there was quite a flare up all round; Bragg's man Friday, chief engineers, ordnance officers, and everything else. An obscure individual by the name of Boggs is said to have resigned. It won't make much difference to us, one way or the other; but will affect Bragg's arrangements a good deal."

Again, Boggs' assignment was to engineering work, being made Chief Engineer with the rank of Colonel by Governor Brown. He was sent to Savannah to aid in erecting fortifications. Again

the impression he received was one of inefficiency and lack of foresight on the part of those in authority. "I called on General Lawton, commanding the Confederate forces, and in discussing the situation suggested the propriety of occupying the islands (especially Venus' Point) on the South Carolina side, or at least of establishing a few batteries. He did not think it possible to stand on them, much less to occupy them, and that a gun would sink out of sight. I suggested that these were difficulties to be overcome. He seemed to rely upon some torpedoes that Captain Ives had placed there to keep the gun boats from coming into Wall's Cut and getting between us and Fort Pulaski. There were some of us who had very little confidence in Ives' loyalty and the fact that Ives had been seen at work down the river caused us still more anxiety. . . . One morning we found the Federal gun boats in Wall's Cut on the Carolina side, in which Ives' torpedoes were supposed to be. They, with the boats already in the St. Augustine's Creek, on our side, cut off all communication by water with Fort Pulaski . . . General W. H. T. Walker was very indignant; he proposed a plan for the capture of the gunboats, offered to take all the responsibility, and make the necessary preparations, and attack with his own Brigade. Had his plan been promptly accepted, it would, in my opinion, have been successful. But it was taken into consideration. Before the consideration was concluded, those islands on which a man could not stand were covered with tents and troops; and those estuaries which had been filled with torpedoes, were full of gun boats. On the tenth day of April we could hear distinctly the bombardment of Fort Pulaski. At the end of twenty-four hours the stillness assured us that it was in the hands of the enemy."

In recognition of Boggs' work at Savannah one of the forts was named for him. Today its site is occupied by a fertilizer factory. From Savannah he was sent to the interior of Georgia to erect fortifications along the upper Appalachicola to protect cotton plantations from raids by federal gun boats. His mission was not effective because the civil authorities failed to co-operate. In August 1862, he was again in the service of the Confederate States because Kirby Smith had asked aid of Governor Brown in his impending invasion of Kentucky, and Brown's reply was to send Boggs and some artillery harness to Knoxville.

The campaign that followed forms a new chapter in the experience of Colonel Boggs. Hitherto he had been engaged in fortification; now as a member of Kirby Smith's staff he was in close touch with an aggressive military movement. Indeed the invasion of Kentucky was one of the most brilliant, as well as one of the most disastrous, of the early Confederate campaigns. Kirby Smith crossed the Cumberland mountains from Knoxville, while Bragg advanced from Chattanooga northward across Tennessee, crossing into Kentucky by way of Gainesville. With their armies united they hoped to win Kentucky for the Confederacy and to force Buell beyond the Ohio. Kirby Smith was first on the scene of operations. By August 30 he reached Richmond, Kentucky, and drove back the enemy. How narrow was the margin between victory and defeat is well described by Boggs. During the afternoon General William Nelson, commander-in-chief of the Union forces in Kentucky, personally took the leadership and formed a new line of battle south of Richmond. "This was so unexpected," says Boggs, "that General Kirby Smith and myself, riding leisurely up the road in advance of the army, came within short range before we were aware of it. Seeing an officer gallop down the road and hearing him command to 'bring on the cavalry,' I rode close up to and alongside the fence, expecting them to come up with a rush, and saw our victory turned into a rout. Had they come, Sheridan's charge at Winchester would have been a duplicate. They did not come and we had time to get out of the road and form line; then a single charge of the infantry, before the artillery could be brought into action, drove them through Richmond."

From Richmond the victorious Confederates pressed on toward Lexington. Boggs, with a band of infantry and cavalrymen, marched before the regular army. When the outskirts of Lexington were reached, he rode back to camp and found everything in confusion. "A sudden halt had been ordered, the advance drawn back to where I found it, all the wagons were being unloaded and sent back to bring Heth's division. A herald was being gotten ready to summon the Federal commander at the sound of a midnight bugle to evacuate Lexington or come outside of it and fight. It looked very much like a panic. There was no answer to the bugle and the herald rode into town without

being questioned. The Federal commander, Gilbert, had also been seized with an uncertainty, and while we were preparing the herald he was making hot haste in another direction. We now found out that, if we had followed the Federals up closely we could have gone into Lexington the night before and have captured valuable supplies."

The tide of success now changed. Instead of advancing on Cincinnati Kirby Smith awaited orders from General Bragg, his superior. Bragg's advance had been delayed for various reasons, so that Buell outreached him in the race for Louisville. He now ordered Kirby Smith to fall back to Frankfort and participate in the inauguration of Richard Hawes as Confederate Governor. Bragg, leaving his army at Bardstown, arrived at Frankfort in due time. The ceremony took place on October 4, 1862, but in the afternoon news came that Buell was advancing from Louisville. Believing that the movement was directed against Frankfort, Kirby Smith retired to Versailles and Bragg joined his army which advanced to Harrodsburg. Boggs' part in the events of the day well illustrate the confusion and the uncertainty of the Confederate commanders.

"Our right rested on a ravine; General Kirby Smith was uneasy about this flank and had directed me to go up this ravine early next morning, to move slowly, keep a good look out, and if necessary send him messengers. I started very early and was still moving away from our line, when I heard the inauguration salute fired. From the remarks of the escort it appeared that they were recruits; upon enquiry I found, to my anxiety, that there was not an old soldier among them. As the afternoon advanced, hearing nothing more and having seen nothing I returned to Frankfort. It was after dark when I crossed the bridge. As I crossed the railroad, I saw a train of passenger and box cars filled with people. Seeing some ladies that I knew in one of the box cars I rode up and asked if it was the fear of the coming battle that drove them away from the inauguration ball that General Bragg had promised them. One of them with much indignation asked me if this was any time for trifling. I then noticed that some of them were in tears. One pointing up the hill asked me what that meant: it was the rear guard of a retreating army. Looking in the other direction I saw the bridge that I had just crossed was burning. I apologized, stating what I had been doing all day. My negro man, Shadrick, coming up with my extra horse, I told the ladies that so soon as I had fed my horses and myself I would return and keep them company until the train started. When Mrs. Humphreys asked me where I proposed to get supper, I

could not say, but that with the prospect of an all night ride I would do my best. She insisted on getting out of the car and taking me to the house of a friend. Having been sumptuously fed we returned to the car. When the train left, I left, to follow one of the most unnecessary and disgraceful retreats recorded in history.

"After waiting at Versailles a day General Kirby Smith, taking me with him, rode down to General Bragg's headquarters at Harrodsburg. The two armies were now touching each other, forming together the largest and best western army we had ever had, or were likely to have.

"We reached General Bragg's headquarters about noon. He was surrounded by a large retinue of hangers on, and it was hard to get a quiet interview. His conversation and actions were unaccountable, they were like those of a wild man. He gave General Kirby Smith to understand that he did not need his army, that with his own troops he could whip any thing the Federals could bring against him. General Smith returned to Versailles completely at a loss what to do. During the next morning he gave General Marshall permission to return to Lexington and await events. We tried to persuade him to do so also: but during the afternoon the sound of battle in Bragg's direction decided him to go at once to his assistance.

"Without orders and unsolicited, General Kirby Smith moved his army to the assistance of General Bragg. When we reached Harrodsburg, General J. M. Wither's command was all that we found of General Bragg's army; the remainder were in retreat to camp Dick Robinson."

During the Kentucky campaign Col. Boggs won the confidence of his chief, for on Kirby Smith's recommendation he was made Brigadier General, and when Kirby Smith became commander of the Confederate forces west of the Mississippi in March 1863, he appointed Boggs Chief of Staff. The task in the southwest was indeed a difficult one. There was need of a better organization of the Confederate forces in Louisiana and Arkansas. The contribution of General Boggs was the improvement of communication between the various army posts. The method employed was for that day a novel one.

"Finding the communication with the district headquarters very irregular and uncertain I determined to establish lines of couriers to them. In order to avoid taking able bodied men from the army I suggested to General Smith that we enlist six companies of boys, between thirteen and fifteen years of age. These boys were to be enlisted, with the consent of their parents, with the same pay and allowances as cavalrymen and to be officered by some of those already in service but whose regiments having been consolidated were unattached. The plan having been approved by General Smith, I sent for Major Bird of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and having explained it to him offered him the command.

With his assistance the other officers were appointed, and the enlistments begun. We met with no opposition and soon had our lines established. It was arranged that while three of the companies were on duty the other three should be in camp for rest and instruction. The command was well officered and worked most satisfactorily until the end of the war."

The military problem before Kirby Smith was a twofold one; to make some demonstration against the Federal lines around Vicksburg, which was then besieged by Grant, and to prevent the conquest of western Louisiana and Texas. The first was intrusted to General Holmes of the District of Arkansas but his attack on Helena, delayed until July, was too late to change the fate of Vicksburg. The other military duty was accomplished, not, however, without a conflict of wills among Confederate generals. The Federals took the aggressive and inaugurated two movements in the spring of 1864, an invasion by Banks from New Orleans and one from Little Rock by Steele. Believing that Banks was the weaker of the two generals Kirby Smith decided to engage him first and gave that part of the defense to General Richard Taylor, whose headquarters were in southern Louisiana. General Price, who succeeded Holmes in Arkansas, was ordered to forward to Taylor all his infantry and artillery, keeping only his cavalry to harass the advance of Steele. However, these reinforcements were halted at Kirby Smith's headquarters at Shreveport and it was planned for Taylor to harass, not engage, Banks. The cause of this change of plans, according to Boggs, was the influence of Dr. Sol Smith, surgeon to Kirby Smith. "The animus of change was that Doctor Smith disliked General Taylor as much as he liked General Smith; Taylor was to harass Banks up to the last moment, and then General Smith was to move down with additional troops, take command, and carry off the glory of the pitched battle." Kirby Smith's orders reached Taylor too late to prevent him from turning and defeating Banks first at Mansfield, then at Pleasant Hill. These victories presented another problem; should Banks be pursued and New Orleans possibly be attacked, or should attention be given to Steele? Taylor of course advised the former course, but Kirby Smith chose the latter. However, Steele, when he heard of the defeat of Banks, gave up his invasion and fell back to Little Rock.

An estrangement developed between the commanding general and his chief-of-staff soon after the Banks-Taylor campaign. Dr. Sol Smith supplanted Boggs in the councils of Kirby Smith. Boggs resigned and was for a short time commander of the District of Louisiana. He was soon superseded by General Harry Hays. He then returned to Shreveport. Early in 1865 he enlisted in an expedition to enter military service in Mexico. Finding that the purpose of its leaders was to fight for Maximilian rather than Juarez, he withdrew his name. With the collapse of the Confederate armies in the East, Kirby Smith moved his headquarters to Houston, Texas. The surrender of his army was made by his subordinates, in which General Boggs participated, the parole of Boggs being dated June 9, 1865.

Such are typical criticisms of Confederate military operations, by General Boggs. His unreserved frankness, together with his military training, give his words great weight. No one can read them without being impressed with the inefficiency of the Confederate preparations for the war, the inexcusable failure of the Kentucky campaign of 1862, and the friction among the Confederate generals. If it had not been for the genius of Lee's defense of Virginia, how much earlier might the conflict have ended!

## Wanted: A New Spirit in Literary Criticism

H. HOUSTON PECKHAM

The more I view the present state of American letters, the more I am convinced that the pressing need of our day is not for new and greater creative geniuses than we have now, but for an entirely new spirit in literary criticism.

The present tendency of our critics of literature is clearly to disparage rather than to appreciate our contemporary writers. And when I speak of our critics of literature, I do not mean simply the professionals, whose judgments appear on the printed page. I mean quite as truly that much larger and more influential company of critics, the average readers, whose estimates are passed informally on the street, in the home, at the club.

The other day a college professor said to me: "I don't think we have any good American poets at present, do you?" I answered his question with another question: "Well, what do you think of the work of such writers as Madison Cawein, Henry Van Dyke, Edith M. Thomas, Josephine Preston Peabody, Percy Mackaye, and Edwin Markham?" And thereupon he confessed that he knew practically nothing of these writers—had, in fact, been so busy reading Lowell and Emerson and Walt Whitman that he had had neither the time nor the inclination to see what our poets have been doing during the past twenty years or so. And there we get at the root of the whole matter. We have been so long in the habit of supposing that good literature is bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean and was ended with about the year 1892, that to voice a contrary opinion is heresy of the rankest sort. How, we ask ourselves unconsciously, can we suppose that we Americans have a real present-day literature, when we are told in the school-room and at the reading-circle and from the lecture-platform and in almost every magazine that we take up, that all great and glorious things were written in the past, or that if anything worth while is being written now, it is being done in artistic old Europe, not in crude, provincial, upstart, materialistic America?

My plea, you perceive, is for a critical spirit which while rendering unto the great past all due homage, will not be too fogeyish,

snobbish, or ignorant to give the present fair treatment. And my belief, as I have hinted, is that a true knowledge of the facts will beget this new spirit.

To speak more concretely, suppose we begin our campaign of self-education by looking over the field of realistic fiction. This is a good field to begin with, as no one will deny its importance. Most of the world's great novelists—Thackeray, George Eliot, Meredith, Flaubert, Balzac, Daudet, and Tolstoi, for example—have been realists. And now let us see what American writers belong in the same category. William Dean Howells, Edith Wharton, Thomas Nelson Page, Theodore Dreiser, Robert Herrick, Mary E. Wilkins-Freeman, and Margaret Deland are a few contemporary Americans who may be mentioned, among others, as writers who deal not with Fairylands or Arcadias, but with various phases of life as it is. And where shall we find a similar group of American writers in any bygone period? I cannot answer that question except by repeating the question itself. Where shall we find a similar group? When we have named Irving, Cooper, Hawthorne, and Poe, we have come perilously near to exhausting our nineteenth-century fiction list. And who in that estimable company, except Hawthorne alone, could be by any stretch of the imagination possibly regarded as realistic? Or suppose we put the matter in this way: the future historian, sociologist, or anthropologist who wishes to inform himself as to the manners and customs of the early twentieth century can, by reading Mrs. Wharton, learn much about the gilded set in New York; and a perusal of some of Mrs. Freeman's most characteristic work will teach him a great deal about the simpler country folk of New England and New Jersey. But where will we find anything really illuminating about American life as it was in the middle of the nineteenth century? Assuredly, not in any mid-nineteenth-century novel that you or I can readily mention!

In a similar connection, a brief examination of the historical romance will not be amiss here. When James Fenimore Cooper wrote "The Spy", he doubtless wrote the best purely historical romance brought out in our so-called "Classical" period of American literature; but in any comparison of the various Revolutionary stories, no sane, fair-minded reader would think of maintaining that "The Spy" is equal to Winston Churchill's "Richard

*Carvel*" or S. Weir Mitchell's "*Hugh Wynne*", either in historical accuracy or in literary style.

Now let us glance for a moment at our recent dramatic poetry. Percy Mackaye and Josephine Preston Peabody have within the past few years written plays which were highly meritorious from a literary standpoint and eminently successful from a stage point of view. Few, probably, will dispute the first part of my statement, and no one, certainly, will quarrel with the second part. But the work of Mrs. (Peabody) Marks and Mr. Mackaye belongs to the present century. What of the nineteenth century? Yes: what, indeed, of the nineteenth century? I have read plays by Longfellow—very pretty plays—but I never saw or knew of the professional stage presentation of any of them. I have, likewise, heard of the stage success of the blank-verse dramas of John Howard Payne; but I have never read any of those dramas, and no professor of literature or other wise counsellor ever told me that it was important that I should read any of them.

In a paper of so limited scope as this, I cannot attempt to discuss all forms of poetry; but for the sake of further illustration suppose we give a brief consideration to nature poetry, an important form since the days of Thomson. William Cullen Bryant was, of course, a nature poet of high merit; but I wonder whether the critics of the future, the critics who can view the twentieth century as dispassionately and discerningly as they view the nineteenth, will find that Bryant was a keener observer or a clearer interpreter of natural phenomena than Madison Cawein. Personally I very much doubt it.

Another poetic form which it might be well to mention is the sonnet, a form which has been used extensively by a majority of great modern bards. Longfellow was admittedly the foremost of our nineteenth-century sonneteers; but I should like to have any one point out to me specifically wherein his sonnets excel the sonnets of Louis Untermeyer or William Ellery Leonard.

And while we are speaking of fiction, the drama, and poetry, we cannot omit mention of the essay and criticism. Suppose we grant that as a leader of thought Emerson has never been surpassed or even equalled by any later American writer. What then? I have yet to hear anybody assert that either Emerson or Holmes was more readable or a better stylist than Hamilton

Wright Mabie, Henry Van Dyke, or Samuel M. Crothers, or that the criticisms of either Lowell or Poe were sounder, more original, or more significant than are those of George E. Woodberry or Thomas R. Lounsbury.

When we reduce the matter to specific terms in this fashion, we do not find people much disposed to argue with us. About the strongest argument we are likely to meet with is something like this: "But you are comparing present-day stuff with the classics of our literature! There were giants in the old days, and *ab hoc sequitur*, we having nothing but pygmies now." In other words, twaddle is greater than twiddle, and hodge is superior to podge; because the world has always so regarded them!

I am well aware of the fact that this habit of belittling the achievements of the present and extolling those of the past is no new thing—that, on the other hand, it is based upon a very old tradition, and that a great artist is seldom appreciated as much in his own day as by posterity. Somewhat less than a hundred years ago—to cite a specific case—when Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats were giving to the world some of their most brilliant songs, the critics of England were loudly bewailing the fact that Pope, the incomparable Pope, was dead, and that the golden age of poesy, the age of perfect couplets, was passed away. Verily, a poet is not without honor, save in his own generation!

An English station-porter, when asked once by an American traveller why British railways do not give checks instead of continuing the antiquated and stupid system of pasting labels on luggage, replied naively: "Well, sir, it never 'as bean done." But obviously, the fact that honoring the writers of one's own day is a thing which "never 'as bean done" is no reason in the world why we should not be the first generation to break away from a foolish prejudice.

But, object many, if we honor those whom we consider the best writers of our day, how can we be sure that posterity will accept our judgments? Was not Dryden once considered a greater poet than Chaucer; and did not Byron, in the opinion of his contemporaries, stand head and shoulders above Shelley and Wordsworth?

Well and good! but why should we care what posterity may think of the genuises of the early twentieth century? As G. H. Mair, an eminent British critic, has pointed out, why should the

possibility that our great-grandsons may reverse our literary judgments of our contemporaries deter us from thinking for ourselves? To quote Mr. Mair's words:<sup>\*</sup> "No notion is so destructive to the formation of a sound literary taste as the notion that books become literature only when their authors are dead. Round us men and women are putting into plays and poetry and novels the best that they can or know. They are writing not for a dim and uncertain future but for us, and on our recognition and welcome they depend, sometimes for their livelihood, always for the courage which carries them on to fresh endeavor. Literature is an ever-living and continuous thing, and we do it less than its due service if we are so occupied reading Shakespeare and Milton and Scott that we have no time to read Mr. Yeats, Mr. Shaw or Mr. Wells. Students of literature must remember that classics are being manufactured daily under their eyes, and that on their sympathy and comprehension depends whether an author receives the success he merits when he is alive to enjoy it."

And this suggests the one remaining phase of the matter which presents itself to my mind at this moment. When we follow a tradition, be it a good tradition or a bad one, we seldom analyze our motives, seldom ask the why or wherefore. Nevertheless I cannot help wondering whether in our time-honored critical spirit there is not a sub-conscious voice which argues somewhat in this fashion: "Our present-day writers may have merit; but, bless you! if we praise them, we shall certainly spoil them. To pat a living author on the back is too much like telling a vain little girl that she is pretty, or a conceited little boy that he is smart." And then two pictures inevitably appear to my mind, and I see William Collins, one of the few great poetic geniuses of the eighteenth century, and Keats, high priest in the Temple of Beauty. I see the former broken-heartedly burning poetic treasures that his Pope-mad contemporaries would not read; and I see the latter wasting away to his untimely end, his countenance the sad manifestation of a soul fraught with heaven knows how many beautiful songs unsung. And thereupon I feel like exclaiming passionately with Shelley:

Most musical of mourners, weep anew!  
Not all to that bright station dared to climb:  
And happier they their happiness who knew,

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\**English Literature: Modern*, by G. H. Mair (Henry Holt), p. 237.

Whose tapers yet burn through that night of time  
In which suns perished. Others more sublime,  
Struck by the envious wrath of man or god,  
Have sunk, extinct in their resplendent prime;  
And some yet live, treading the thorny road  
Which leads, through toil and hate, to Fame's serene abode.

We cannot afford to neglect the good poets and novelists, the worthy dramatists and essayists, who live and move and have their being in this twentieth century of ours. We cannot, moreover, afford to pout if as a literary people we do not quite rival all the European nations. We may not have any Galsworthy or Alfred Noyes, any Maeterlinck or Sudermann; but why, in the name of common sense, need that make us despondent? Why can we not remember that this is no evidence of American literary decadence—that fifty years ago we had no lyrist the peer of Browning or Tennyson, no philosopher as big or as brilliant as Carlyle, no realistic novelist as great as Balzac or George Eliot? A new critical spirit! by all that is just and reasonable, a new critical spirit! We have no cause to be ashamed of our best contemporary American writers; but if we neglect them, if we fail to honor them, we have much cause to be ashamed of ourselves.

## Accidental Rimes and Jingles in Blank Verse.

WIGHTMAN F. MELTON

Professor of English in Emory College

In blank verse rime is not expected. As Symonds says, "Our ears are satisfied without it," and yet the ear is probably more pleased than offended when an occasional, and it may be accidental, rime appears in the epic or the drama.

In "Sohrab and Rustum," there are examples of consecutive lines riming:

"The high pavilion in the midst  
Was Rustum's, and his men lay camp'd around.  
And Gudurz entered Rustum's tent and found  
Rustum." Lines, 193-196.

"Let not men say of Rustum, he was match'd  
In single fight with any mortal man.'  
He spoke and frown'd, and Gudurz turn'd and ran  
Back quickly to the camp." Lines, 258-261.

In the same poem there are several instances of riming lines with one line intervening:

"Thou know'st me, Peran-Wisa! it is I,  
The sun is not yet risen, and the foe  
Sleep; but I sleep not; all night long I lie  
Tossing and wakeful." Lines, 34-36.

"Surely the news will one day reach his ear,  
Reach Rustum, where he sits, and tarries long,  
Somewhere, I know not where, but far from here."  
Lines, 581-583.

In this poem there is one instance of triple rime, near enough together for the ear to catch it:

"A dome of laths, and o'er it felts were spread.  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
And found the old man sleeping on his bed,  
\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*  
And he rose quickly on one arm, and said:"  
Lines, 23, 26, 30.

These accidental rimes are not peculiar to the blank verse of Matthew Arnold. Examples might be given, almost innumerable from Milton, Tennyson, and others.

In "Paradise Lost," II., 290-295, are lines containing rime words at such intervals that when these lines are rearranged, to bring out the rime, the stately verse will

"Come, and trip it, as you go,  
On the light fantastic toe,"

in such manner as to shock the shade of Milton:

"Such applause was heard  
As Mammon ended, and his sentence pleased,  
Advising peace: for such another field  
They dreaded worse than hell: so much the fear  
Of thunder and the sword of Michael  
Wrought still within them."

After rearrangement certain of the above lines read:

For such another field  
They dreaded worse than hell:  
So much the fear of thunder  
And the sword of Michael—

It is a singular coincidence that a similar thing occurs in Wordsworth's "Michael," lines 476-480:

"The cottage which was named the Evening Star  
Is gone—the plowshare has been through the ground  
On which it stood; great changes have been wrought  
In all the neighborhood:—yet the oak is left  
That stood beside the door."

The plowshare has been through  
The ground on which it stood;  
Great changes have been wrought  
In all the neighborhood.

In Milton the change occasions only a loss in dignity; in Wordsworth it serves to magnify the prosaic commonplaceness of such an expression as "Great changes . . . in the neighborhood."

## BOOK REVIEWS

BROWNING AND HIS CENTURY. By Helen Archibald Clarke. Illustrated from photographs. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1912, x., 374 pp.

Readers and students of nineteenth century literature listen deferentially to every utterance made by Miss Helen Clarke upon the work of Robert Browning. Over a decade and a half ago, Miss Clarke in conjunction with Miss Charlotte Porter undertook to edit and annotate the complete poems of the most recondite poet of the Victorian period. Beyond a doubt the work was done thoroughly and well—so thoroughly and well, indeed, that to this day no publisher has undertaken to put forth a rival to the Camberwell edition of Robert Browning. Upon the foundation thus admirably laid, Miss Clarke has seen fit to erect three other structures of no mean importance; *Browning's Italy*, *Browning's England*, and *Browning and His Century*. Of these, the last has but recently been issued from the press: but already its worth to students of the most nearly Shakespearian poet of the last century has made itself felt.

The two earlier volumes in this trilogy of critical compositions were welcome in general, because of the painstaking research and the scholarly care with which their author sought and presented material helpful alike to the close student and the more hasty reader. From more than one point of view this third volume marks an advance upon its predecessors: they are almost wholly literary, this undertakes to present a study of the political tendencies, the social ideals, and the prophetic visions of the last two or three decades of the nineteenth century; they paint the background of Browning's poems, this shows how the battle of mind and spirit, and the promise of peace found their expression in Browning's work; they are the scholarly work of a student of literature, this is the expression of an understanding outlook upon life.

Of Miss Clarke's seven chapters perhaps the most interesting is that entitled *Art Shibboleths*, certainly the most stimulating is that called *Classic Survivals*. In these, the author undertakes to give some account of Browning's relation to the artistic and the literary ideals of his century. In the earlier, Miss Clarke be-

gins by making a rapid review of Browning's poems dealing with music, painting, and poetry itself, for the purpose of determining the fundamental principles laid down by him. She then shows first of all to what extent Browning himself embodied these principles in his own work, and afterwards follows up that discussion with an attempt to judge Tennyson, Landor, Arnold, Rossetti, Swinburne, Morris, Mrs. Browning and George Meredith by the same tests. In the chapter given the heading *Classic Survivals*, Miss Clarke points out that Chaucer and Spenser "are prototypes of two poet types of two poetical tendencies that have gone on developing side by side in English literature; Chaucer, democratic . . . and Spenser, aristocratic." In Browning and Tennyson she finds the nineteenth century heirs of these poets of the past. This statement, at least so far as it touches Browning, gives one pause, but in justice to Miss Clarke, it should be said that she quickly adds, "but it is doubtful whether Chaucer would recognize his own offspring, so remarkable has the development been in the past five centuries." It should be added, too, that in the several pages succeeding this assertion, Miss Clarke goes far toward proving her point. The chapter closes, as it inevitably would have to close, with a discussion of the influence of Greek literature upon the nineteenth century Browning.

In bringing her study to an end, Miss Clarke tells us that she hopes, "to have opened out a sufficient number of pathways into the fascinating vistas of the nineteenth century in its relation to Browning to inspire others to make further excursions for themselves." Certainly her hope deserve fulfilment.

In conclusion it may be said that the book is attractive in outward appearance, and is well printed with large type on pages of wide margin. It must be added that it was a distinct error to publish such a work as this without an exhaustive index, and still further that it was equally an error to include certain of the illustrations. Poor George Meredith, for an instance, has suffered many things and perhaps deservedly; but whatever his literary sins, he does not merit the punishment of such a caricature of himself as adorns this volume.

ELMER JAMES BAILEY.

Cornell University.

**CO-OPERATION IN NEW ENGLAND.** By James Ford. Introduction by Francis G. Peabody. Russell Sage Foundation Publication. New York: Survey Associates, Incorporated, 1913,—xxi, 237 pp. Post-paid \$1.50.

Dr. Ford's book on "Co-operation in New England" is one of the most recent of the valuable publications of the Russell Sage Foundation. He has written a compact volume in which he reviews briefly European experience in co-operation, the history of the early New England unions, the enterprises conducted by the Sovereigns of Industry, and the later stores, manufacturing plants, and agricultural organizations. In the United States co-operation has made its most substantial record in New England. While there have been some conspicuous failures, New England farmers are saving through such organizations many thousands of dollars a year in the buying of farm necessities and in the selling of flowers, vegetables, fruits, tobacco, maple sugar, and other products. Dr. Ford discusses the causes of failure and shows how the successful enterprises kept free from the operation of these causes.

In these days, when there is everywhere complaint of the high cost of living, the economies of co-operation ought to appeal to increasing numbers of people. The general public can no longer afford to be indifferent to prices. This is indicated by the frequency with which one reads in the daily papers of the formation of housewives' leagues, neighborhood buying clubs, municipal markets, and similar organizations. A valuable feature of Dr. Ford's work is the appendix containing the laws relating to co-operative corporations in Connecticut and Massachusetts and also the by-laws of several of the associations which have been formed in New England. A selected bibliography is also included which will be of service to special students of the subject.

In general, Doctor Ford finds that the individualistic character of the people of New England has handicapped co-operative enterprises. However, their practicability has been proved by the continued existence through more than twenty years of many societies, both urban and rural. Capable leadership and vision are now the essential needs, if the co-operative system is to spread. With the forward march of socialism Dr. Ford feels that it is important to give a fair trial to this promising alternative economic system.

**LUCKY PEHR.** A Drama in Five Acts. From the Swedish of August Strindberg. Translated by Velma Swanson Howard. Cincinnati: Steward and Kidd Company, 1912.—176 pp. \$1.50 net.

The QUARTERLY recently called attention to the translation of a volume of Strindberg's by Mrs. Velma Howard. The same translator has since offered the public Strindberg's *Lucky Pehr*, an allegorical drama in five acts. American readers are to be congratulated on having access through this excellent translation to a play that has long enjoyed genuine popularity in its author's home. It is commended both to readers and to theater managers. In it we have satire, humor, pathos, and sentiment, all combined delightfully in a story teaching an optimistic and wholesome philosophy of life. The allegory is never perplexing and yet not offensively evident.

The theme of the play is the old quest for happiness, and the plot in brief outline is as follows: Embittered against the world and sore at heart because of misplaced love, a man retires into a gloomy church tower, where he hopes to keep his boy from contact with the staining sin and shame of the world, in which he believes there is naught but hypocrisy, selfishness, and evil. At the age of fifteen this boy, Pehr, in spite of the watchful guardianship of his father, is brought out of his seclusion by his god-parents, a good elf and a kind fairy, representing the supernatural in the play, and is enabled by them to live a more varied life than is possible to one man. Refusing second-hand knowledge, he determines to break the fruit for himself from each branch of the tree of life. His experiences constitute the acts of the play. First comes a short testing of the childish joys in the open, with a broken head on the ice fields and ant stings and mosquito bites, and then the monotony wearies him. So against the advice of Lisa, or Love, who appears to him with kindly aid at each crisis in his life, he next tries wealth. He has gold, which "rust cannot spot, but which can put rust spots into souls." In this role he finds nothing satisfying. His friends are insincere and mercenary, and desert him in trouble. Finally lured by an insincere woman, he emerges from this experience with full-grown asses' ears, and is disgusted. Next, at Lisa's suggestion, he tries the role of a reformer, not, however, for the sake of the good deed, but for the sake of the glory to come to him. He offers to give to the citi-

zens of a town smooth paved streets in place of rough cobblestones. The selfish interest of municipal politicians in the persons of the shoemaker, the wagonmaker, the chiropodist, and the kinsman of the dead Burgomaster Schulze, who had laid the rough stones, arrays them against him, and he lands in the pillory, where a good ducking cools his reformer's ardor, which had never been very genuine. Next he tries the most dangerous part given to a man to play, that of the man of power, and is made caliph, but his reign begins with lies and acts abhorrent to him. He must renounce the faith of his fathers for the common good, since his individuality is to be merged, as it were, into the idea of the state. His ministers, too, usurp all his authority. Life is a bore and is made intolerable through the flattery and the inanity of court life. When finally he is to marry some woman selected with an eye to a tariff treaty with her father's country, he renounces his throne and leaves the country in disgust. From man and his meanness he would now find escape in nature, not as a boy, but as a philosopher who has seen through life and knows its worthlessness. He is a man-hater. Beginning with an ode to the sea that is to give its salt baths to cleanse and heal his heart of the sores given it by man's meanness, he soon finds that this very sea does not spare him when it rises, and he flees to escape with his life. Savage animals, however, he encounters on every side. Nature is not so loving after all. His only friend is therefore Death, whom he calls upon to come and rescue him. Taken at his word, he flees from Death and begs for a respite. The picture of Lisa appears to him, and he sees her in danger. In his effort to save her, he begins to forget self. In his quest for love he now enters an old church, where his shadow steps into the pulpit and delivers a speech to him: "You have rushed through life like a fool, in pursuit of fortune; all your wishes have been fulfilled—save one—and they have brought you no happiness." His life has lacked reality, there has been no real labor, hard and bitter, to make the rest sweet. But the cure for it all is not to flee into the church and become a saint, for then he would become "vain, and it is not our virtues but our faults that make us human." Thus he is forewarned against the stories of the great saints and the other inhabitants of the church, and dismisses them. Believing from a noise in the confessional that a reverend

father is there, he cries out: "Hear me and accept the cries of a broken heart." But only Lisa is in the confessional, and it is thus Love that absolves him from the sins of his dream-world. It asks, "Then you have ceased to love yourself above all else?" And he answers, "Yes,—I would free myself from *self*—if I could." And now he has found the key to happiness.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

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**GENERAL JUBAL ANDERSON EARLY, C. S. A: AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH AND NARRATIVE OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.** With Notes by R. H. Early. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1912,—xxvi, 496 pp.

General Early's memoir is an impressive contribution to Civil War literature. His service was limited to the army of northern Virginia, he participated in most of the battles which made the fame of Lee and Jackson, and he describes his part in these with great care and detail. That part of his narrative which treats of the campaign from the Rapidan to the James, the diversion toward Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the valley campaign—all during 1865—is of especial value because no detailed reports of these operations were made before the close of the war, and they have therefore been the subject of controversy and misconception. Yet, in discussing mooted questions, General Early is singularly free from a controversial spirit, his dominant purpose always being to give a straightforward account of events and occasionally to explain why more was not accomplished.

The first campaign in which General Early participated was that which resulted in the battle of Bull Run. He holds that Johnston, not Beauregard, was the real commander-in-chief and that Beauregard's apparent leadership was secured by request from Johnston. For this view a letter, Johnston to Early, is cited. Also the inexperience of the generals, the poor equipment of the cavalry, the exhaustion of the infantry, as well as the destruction of all bridges along the Patomac except those controlled by the Federal Army, are given as reasons for the failure of the Confederates to pursue the routed Union troops after the battle.

Indeed the distinctive feature of Early as a military critic is his defense of Confederate strategy. Thus he justifies Lee's northward invasion resulting in the battle of Antietam by its moral results

(pp 160-161); he holds that a pursuit of Burnside after the battle of Fredericksburg would have been unwise because of the Federal artillery on Stafford Heights and the fact that Hooker's division had not been engaged (pp 180-181); errors determined the result at Gettysburg and for none of these was Lee responsible (p 278), yet the invasion of Pennsylvania "defeated any further attempt to move against Richmond that summer," a result which brilliant victories could not have accomplished (p 286).

General Early's account of his brilliant movement up the Shenandoah into Maryland and the threat on Washington in 1864 makes interesting reading. His failure to seize the capital is attributed to losses at Harper's Ferry, Maryland Heights, and Monocacy, which had reduced the infantry to 8,000, the exhaustion of many of these, a despatch from General Bradley Johnson that part if not all of Grant's army was in motion, and the lack of co-operation by Mosby's battalion (391-393). Later, in 1865, his defeat by Sheridan he attributes to inferior forces, failure of subordinates to carry out his plans, notably at Cedar Creek, and to the fact that his men did not fight as he expected.

The motives that led General Early into the war were conflicting. A whig and a member of the Virginia convention, he refused to sign the ordinance of secession. "The adoption of that ordinance wrung from me bitter tears of grief; but I at once recognized my duty to abide the decision of my native State, and to defend her soil against invasion. Any scruples which I may have entertained as to the right of secession were soon dispelled by the unconstitutional measures of the authorities at Washington and that frenzied clamor of the people of the north for war upon their former brethren of the South. I recognized the right of resistance and revolution as exercised by our fathers in 1776 and without cavil as to the name by which it was called, I entered the service of my State, willingly, cheerfully, and zealously." Elsewhere he says: "Nevertheless, the struggle made by the people of the South was not for the institution of slavery, but for the inestimable right of self-government, against the domination of a fanatical faction at the north; and slavery was the mere occasion of the development of the antagonism between the two sections, that right of self-government has been lost, and slavery violently abolished."

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

**NEW DEMANDS IN EDUCATION.** By James Phinney Munroe. New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1912,—312 pp. \$1.25 net.

The author is more iconoclastic than constructive. In the opening chapter he gives the grievance of the average boy against the average school and follows with a still stronger criticism of our public schools. We feel somehow that his criticism is just, but we are not wholly satisfied with his remedies. He argues strongly that education is a development.

Perhaps his strongest chapter is "Education as a Preventative"—to prevent disease, prevent crime, prevent poverty, prevent insanity and feeble mindedness, and prevent heathenism. This is in accordance with many writers today who affirm that the purpose of the school is not so much to develop the pupil as to so order his work that he may develop himself, that development is natural and the purpose of the school is so to arrange the school work that the child may develop himself and not be retarded by the many things that distract the spirits of mortals.

The author's plea for efficient administration is strong. He advocates the election of two administrative officers, one to have charge of the strictly educational part, and the other the purely business part of a school system. His argument that the truancy system should be wholly under the superintendent of the schools and not under the police department is convincing.

Mr. Munroe's treatment of the education of teachers is good. The argument is that the training of the teacher should be as nearly as possible like the best training given to young physicians. He pleads for (1) a broad well-balanced education so strengthening to the mind that the teacher may become able to deal wisely with problems of character, perverseness of mind and morals, and subtle disease of the will; (2) an acquaintance with the technical details of the profession; (3) practice in teaching pupils of every age and sort; and (4) a knowledge of the history of education.

Although it is admitted that the schools are woefully imperfect, the author does not entirely convince us that his remedies will remedy. In fact, he is at his best when pointing out defects. His best remedies, however, are given in his chapter on vocational training. He would rigorously exclude "from the Secondary Courses all that is special to any profession or peculiar to any

trade," but "preserve equality toward all possible vocations." He then enumerates the qualities that every employer demands, and these cannot be emphasized too strongly. However, in his next chapter on "The Pressing Need for Industrial Education," he says, "we have been so afraid of establishing a caste system that we have developed the most wretched caste of all, a caste of men and women with no definite trade or occupation and with no chance to acquire one." He follows this statement with an argument for "a definite industrial training for the young men and women of push and ambition . . . a real bread and butter education for the infinitely greater number". Illustrations are given showing how girls are taught the millinery trade, and the boys plumbing, carpentering, etc.

Notwithstanding these seeming contradictions, the author keeps ever in mind the central idea of the book that the chief emphasis of the school should be placed on the training of character, and his suggestions for producing vigorous, moral young men and young women are well worthy of the most careful consideration.

E. C. BROOKS.

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**PSYCHOLOGY AND INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY.** By Hugo Münsterberg. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913,—viii, 321 pp. \$1.50 net.

In these days, when wide-awake business men are interesting themselves in problems of scientific management, a warm welcome will be accorded to Professor Münsterberg's latest contribution to the problems of the economic world. His new volume is a systematic attempt to apply the results of the psychological laboratory to the solution of some difficult questions arising in our complex modern industrial organization.

One section of Professor Münsterberg's book is devoted to the explanation of such tests as will enable employers to select exactly the right man for a given position and responsibility. An exceedingly interesting chapter is the one which elaborates a plan which ship companies might use in testing the likelihood of their officers being able to meet accidents or emergencies promptly and wisely. Similar tests are suggested for the electric railway service and for the telephone service.

The second part of the book sets forth the aid which psychological experiments have to offer in securing the best possible work. Chapters are devoted to learning and training, to the adjustment of conditions, to economy of movement, to the problem of monotony, and to attention and fatigue. Due consideration is also given to those physical and social influences which affect the working power.

In the latter part of the book there is a discussion of the means of securing the best possible effects in the marketing of products. All extensive advertisers would do well to read what Professor Münsterberg has to say as to the effectiveness in publications of large as compared with small advertisements, and as to the most advantageous positions in advertising. There are also many interesting suggestions with regard to the results secured by different forms of display in the sale of merchandise. A chapter on illegal imitation has an important bearing on disputes frequently arising between competitors in the sale of similar products.

Professor Münsterberg's work is calculated to make alert business men feel that something very practical can come even from a place so academic as a psychological laboratory. The volume will be of unique helpfulness to leaders in industrial affairs, while students of economics and psychology will feel that it cannot be overlooked. It gives one the impression that there is a future of much usefulness for economic psychology.

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**CREATIVE EVOLUTION.** By Henri Bergson. Authorized translation by Arthur Mitchell. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1911,—xv, 407 pp.

Perhaps the admission of a biologist that he finds the language and thought of "Creative Evolution" involved and difficult to an extreme degree will be tolerated if coupled with a somewhat similar statement of the late William James, who, in large measure, introduced Bergson to the American public, and who, though steeped in the language and concepts of philosophy, felt free to say that many of Bergson's ideas baffled him entirely.

The fundamental concepts of "Creative Evolution" as they appear to the writer are:

(1) That time is a real resistent stuff—the very essence out of which life is created but of which neither science nor philosophy, hitherto, has takn account.

(2) That life is an impulse sent though, though not a function of, matter, to which a further impulse was added, once for all, impelling it to expand and evolve, thus evermore and more closely harmonizing with environment and thereby realizing an original purpose of reacting on matter with an ever increasing success.

(3) That both mechanistic and finalistic philosophies are false in that neither takes account of the true nature of time. The mechanistic, in particular, also fails by omitting the vitalistic impulse and therefore must rely upon chance alone, according to Bergson, to produce the most complex organs, such, for example, as the vertebrate eye. To the reviewer at least this seems an unfair statement of mechanism, inasmuch as time is put as a factor in the very cases he cites and furthermore substitutes for his vital impulse or push, a pull exercised by a constantly changing environment to which the living organism must more and more perfectly adapt itself, or perish.

(4) That the satisfaction which the intellect finds in mechanism is due to its limitations. Only by piecing together all kinds of psychic phenomena produced in the entire course of evolution, especially intuition, will it be possible to construct a philosophy capable of comprehending evolution which is a constant new creation each moment out of the entire past of each organism plus the moment just preceding.

Be it remarked in passing that the idea of an original impulse is not new, having been advanced by Robert Chambers in his "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation," 1843-6.

It would be out of place in this brief review to undertake a discussion of the great issues raised in "Creative Evolution." The reviewer must content himself with remarking that the book is vitally interesting, keen, brilliant, and packed with suggestion of new points of view and new lines of thought. Nevertheless, the author's great fondness for argument from analogy, his really wonderful facility in argument and his, at least somewhat, inaccurate use of biology, render it absolutely necessary that his work shall be inventoried by others as skilful as he is in argument, as familiar as he is with philosophies, and perhaps even more accurately informed than he with biological details. While the writer is convinced that an able criticism is therein directed primarily against mechanism, he believes that the mechanistic hy-

pothesis will emerge from such an examination but little the worse for the onslaught.

JAS. J. WOLFE.

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LECTURES ON THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. Delivered before the University of Oxford, By James Ford Rhodes. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1913,—xi, 206 pp.

In three lectures Mr. Rhodes presented to an English audience an outline of the Civil War, the first of the series being devoted to the decade from 1850-1860, the other two to the events from the election of Lincoln to the close of hostilities. For material he has steadily relied on his *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, nearly every page of the text containing citations to some volume of that monumental work. In the process of condensation many phases of war history so well treated in the *History* have been entirely omitted, notably political movements and finance. On the other hand, the narrative of diplomatic relations with England has been revised, a number of references being cited that were not published when the *History* appeared. Beyond this Mr. Rhodes does not seem to be *au courant* with the vast amount of re-interpretation of American affairs made since the earlier volumes of the *History* were published. The new perspective of ante-bellum politics, especially in the northwest, the complexity of the motives in the conventions and platforms of 1860, and the analysis of the vote in the campaign of that year are neither described nor suggested. Yet on the cardinal point of the war, the right of secession, the judgment is eminently broad minded and fair. "Most Europeans," he says, "are struck with the strangeness of the doctrine of secession, that in its organic act the nation should in effect have provided for its own dissolution by permitting the withdrawal of a component part or parts on the ground of grievance of whose validity the aggrieved should be the sole judge. Here was no claim of the common right of revolution. The cotton states did not maintain that the revolution was justified; but that in the delegation of powers to the Federal government the right of withdrawal from the Union was reserved; this right they now exercised. In 1861 it was an open question in the United States whether the Constitution was indeed such a compact. The North influenced by the teaching of Webster, denied the right of secession, the South swayed by Calhoun, as-

serting it. An impartial judge must have realized that there were two sides to the dispute; and after hearing the historical and traditional arguments, he might have found a decision difficult."

An unusually detailed table of contents supplements the index as guide to the information imparted. WILLIAM K. BOYD.

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**PAN-GERMANISM.** By Roland G. Usher. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913,—314 pp. \$1.75 net.

The term Pan-Germanism has come of late years to denote the vast ambitious schemes of Germany to increase her territory and spheres of influence at the expense of other nations of Europe and the world. As such expansion must in all probability necessarily come chiefly by an invasion of the long enjoyed rights and privileges of England, the English have sought to arouse violent and widespread hostility to the movement and have succeeded in making it hard indeed to know just what a German statesman or a German jingo politician means when he speaks of Pan-Germanism. The patriot means something like what Professor Usher in his readable book defines the movement to be (pp. 231-2):

"The candid student, however, who is not anxious to support a propaganda, and who seeks rather to explain and expound the real reasons which have led men into such paths as they are now following than to cavil and blame, will recognize in Pan-Germanism the expression of a national determination to preserve and strengthen the corporate life of a great people. Its basis is greed from one point of view, ambition from another, but its effective cause in both cases is the expression of nationality. Germany, in fact, has attained a national consciousness, a national individuality, and seeks to insure the continued existence of this corporate individual for all time. Pan-Germanism is merely self-preservation."

The jingo, perhaps, and apparently the frightened Englishman and his nervous, sympathetic friends would have us believe that the actual intention being ruthlessly and rapidly put into execution is something like what the author says of it on pages 255-6:

"Pan-Germanism involves the creation of the confederation of states which it intends to make the controlling factor in interna-

tional politics; it involves, in the next place, the ability of this confederation to get control of the world or at least defeat England; it further assumes the feasibility of maintaining control and of preserving its own existence against internal as well as external foes."

To write the authentic history of such an involved and difficult national and international problem—to trace the gradual realization by Germany of the necessity of some central political policy that is based on changing economic conditions, to make plain the devious paths of diplomacy in its effort to bring about alignments of nations according to their mutual economic advantages, to explain on what assumptions each of the two opposing groups of nations considers itself stronger than its opponents, and to pass judgment on the probable outcome of the life and death struggle now being prepared for between the two groups—this is the task Professor Usher has attempted to perform. His book is interesting, but one is by no means satisfied either with the theories he sets up as to the actual status of the problem or with the conclusions he draws regarding these theories. For he has not sufficient facts in his possession, and consequently an air of unreliability pervades most of the book. It is as he says on page 254: "We cannot in the nature of things have more than an approximate idea of the scheme itself or of the conditions on which it is based, and we therefore must be content with a very approximate judgment." But he writes with too much assurance, and hence the reader has to guard himself against accepting mere speculation, indeed at times political gossip. The American reader need not see the German through the spectacles of the Englishman.

And yet the author has shown due regard for facts that are available. Some of them are not very important and are too highly valued, but nevertheless they are of use to show the way things may be tending. He also shows intimate and intelligent study of contemporary political conditions in Europe. His book, therefore, is worth reading and will offer much of interest to American readers, who, as a rule, do not concern themselves as they should with just such contemporary history of the European countries. It is interesting to note that the author concludes from his considerable study of the problem from all standpoints

that, while Pan-Germanism is feasible and will probably be effected, it cannot be maintained, both because of the internal weakness of the Triple Alliance and because of the probable binding alliance through economic advantage of Russia and the United States to France and England.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

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**READINGS IN AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY, 1776-1876.** Edited by Allen Johnson. Boston, New York, and Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912,—xxvi, 584 pp.

Previous collections of source material in American history for use in college classes have been of two kinds; one, of which Professor Hart's *American History Told by Contemporaries* is typical, consists of extracts from colonial historians, letters, diaries, travels, poems, and miscellaneous narratives; its chief value is to add a sense of local color to the chapters of a text book. The other type of source book, best represented by the volumes of Professor MacDonald, is limited to charters, statutes, treaties, state papers, and official documents; its chief usefulness lies in the interpretation of political and, to some extent, of institutional history. Professor Johnson has the distinction of adding a new kind of source book, the theme underlying his selections being constitutional interpretation. Thus for the period of the revolution extracts are given from Locke's works and the early state constitutions; for that of the confederation and the origin of the constitution the records of the federal convention, Elliott's Debates, and the Federalist are freely drawn upon; while for the years since 1789 the debates in Congress, writings of public men, official documents and supreme Court decisions, state as well as federal statutes and pamphlets are cited. The content of the selections is clearly broader and deeper than purely political history, though less technical than case books on constitutional law. Extracts of such a character have never before been brought together. The book will undoubtedly find a wide use in courses on history,

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

## NOTES AND NEWS

One of the most recent works of fiction published by Doubleday, Page, and Company is a tale of the foothill country of the western dry belt by A. M. Chisholm. Under the title "Precious Waters" we have a spirited story dealing with the all-important problem of irrigation and the struggle of a community of ranchers to save their streams from the encroachments of the land department of a railroad. The story has a good, clear, out-door atmosphere about it which leaves the reader with a refreshing sense of Western life. It is full of unexpected developments and exciting incidents, nor does it lack a lively vein of humor. It makes first rate reading. Price, \$1.25 net.

The Russell Sage Foundation has added another volume to its valuable series of studies of industries employing women. Miss Mary Fan Kleeck has chosen the book-binding trade for investigation as one of the most important industries for women in New York City, since it affords employment to every grade of women workers from the skilled craftsman to the machine operator and errand girl. Miss Van Kleeck's book is well illustrated with half tones showing the various processes of the trade. She makes certain definite recommendations for the reform of conditions in the book-binding trade, such as the limitation of the hours of work, provisions for proper health conditions, and protection against fire. Her study under the title "Women in the Book Binding Trade" may be obtained from the Survey Associates, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City. Price \$1.50 post-paid.

Dr. John A. Ferrell, who is State Director of the campaign against hookworm disease in North Carolina, reports that dispensaries have thus far been held in 65 counties and that six additional counties have provided for such dispensaries. There have been examined in the campaign against the hookworm disease up to the present time 216,616 persons, and 122,656 persons have been treated. The work is conducted under the auspices of the North Carolina State Board of Health, assisted by the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission.

The Houghton Mifflin Company has recently published a volume entitled "Gutter Babies" by Dorothea Slade. The book is a collection of sketches dealing with the life of London slum children. Each sketch is distinct, yet the same characters appear in many of them. Miss Slade has lived long among the scenes and people she describes, and reminds one of the late Myra Kelley in her ability to make the reader feel the pathos and the humor of the children of the slums. The illustrations in the volume are of unusual interest, being the work of Dorothy Stanley, the widow of Sir Henry M. Stanley. Mrs. Stanley has attained marked success as a portrayer of the children of the slums. Price, \$1.25 net.

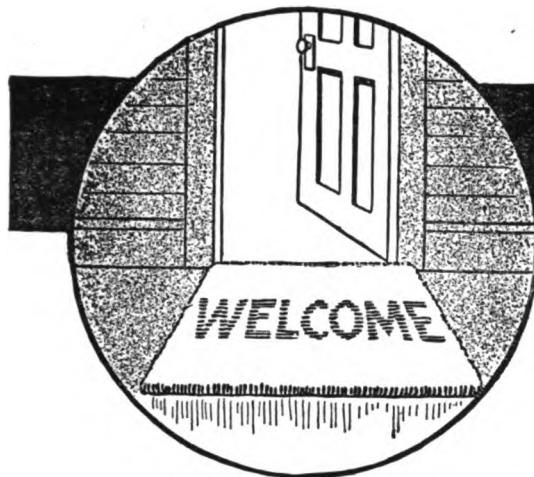
Recently three municipal elections have been held in North Carolina upon the question of adoption or rejection of the commission form of government. On March 17 Hickory voted in favor of commission government by 291 to 256. On April 1 elections were held in Raleigh and Durham. In Raleigh (population 19,218) the vote in favor of the commission form was 1150 and against 460. This victory for the commission form was won on the second election in Raleigh on that issue. On the same day Durham (population 18,241) overwhelmingly defeated a proposition for the commission form of government by a light vote of 840 to 82. The provisions of the proposed commission charter were not generally known to the people of Durham until very shortly before the election, and some of them then proved objectionable.

Kindergarteners will be interested in a recently published volume by Lileen Hardy entitled "The Diary of a Free Kindergarten." The volume has an introduction by Kate Douglas Wiggin and is illustrated from several excellent photographs. It is an account of the work of a successful kindergarten for Scotch children of the poorer classes in a half-forgotten corner of Edinburgh. The narrative is published in the form of a diary, which is both interesting in its humorous and pathetic revelations of child-life and valuable in its practical exposition of kindergarten methods. The publishers are the Houghton Mifflin Company, and the price is \$1.00 net.

Doubleday, Page and Company are publishing an interesting series of little gift books which fit conveniently into a coat pocket.

Each volume contains a successful short story. Recent numbers in this series are "The Bust of Lincoln," by James Francis Dwyer, and "Object Matrimony," by Montague Glass. Fifty cents net.

Rudyard Kipling has published in connection with many of his novels and stories short and long poems, some of them of great popularity and merit. These poems scattered through his works have been collected in a volume entitled "Songs from Books." In several instances, where only a few lines or stanzas were originally used, one is delighted to find that the songs are now given in full. It is surprising with how fresh an appeal these verses come to the reader in this collected form. Doubleday, Page & Company, \$1.40 net.



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Volume XII

Number 3

*The*

# South Atlantic Quarterly

EDITED BY

W. H. GLASSON AND W. P. FEW

JULY, 1913

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This journal was founded in January, 1902, in order to afford better opportunity in the South for the discussion of literary, historical, economic, and social questions. It knows no sectional jealousy and aims to offer a publishing medium in which respectful consideration will be accorded to all who have some worthy contribution to make in its chosen field. The Quarterly was originally established by the "9019," a society of young men of Trinity College, but it later passed into the control of the South Atlantic Publishing Company, Incorporated. It is under the joint editorship of Dr. W. H. Glasson and Dr. W. P. Few.

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JULY, 1913

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The  
South Atlantic Quarterly

The Virginia Mountaineers

JOHN H. ASHWORTH

Fellow in Political Economy in Johns Hopkins University

The ordinary picturesque portrayal of the Southern mountain folk in newspapers, magazines, missionary literature and missionary expositions forms a very striking contrast to these mountain people as seen in real life and is extremely amusing to those who are familiar with the prevailing conditions in the Virginia highlands. These vivid representations, or rather misrepresentations, are usually not limited to the mountain districts of any particular state, but include, *en masse*, all the inhabitants of the Southern Appalachians.

Let us view first the Virginia mountaineers as they have been presented—along with other Southern highlanders—through the editorial columns of some of the leading newspapers and magazines of the United States. Quotations from a few of the thousands of comments on the Virginia court massacre at Hillsboro will suffice.

From the New York *Evening Mail* we quote: "These Virginian and Kentuckian and Tennessean outlaws are the most zealous and earnest conservatives in the world. They regulate their lives by immemorial customs. To them all "book-larnin'" means revolution and subversion.

The Baltimore *Sun* suggests the following prescription for this diseased section of country: "There are but two remedies for such a situation as this, and they are education and extermination. With many of the individuals, the latter is the only remedy. Men and races alike, when they defy civilization, must die. The mountaineers of Virginia and Kentucky and North Carolina, like the red Indians and the South African Boers, must learn this lesson."

The Kansas City *Star*, in speaking of the mountainous sections of North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia informs its readers that: "There are whole counties without railroads, telegraphs, telephones or even churches."

The *Literary Digest* of March 30, 1912, says: ". . . We have on our hands another national problem of no mean magnitude—the problem of bringing the 3,000,000 isolated inhabitants of our southern mountains back into the procession of civilization and progress from which they have been separated for generations." Two prominent features of this quotation should be noted: (1) The three million people spoken of include practically the entire population of the Southern Highlands; (2) That these three millions of people are not within the scope of civilization.

In an *Outlook* editorial of June 22, 1912, "The College and the Sheriff," Berea College\* and the Hillsville† court tragedy are discussed. We quote from this editorial: "Five or six miles from Berea the turnpike ends and the trail or path begins. From that point the traveler walks or rides astride. He finds himself in a great mountain region in which two million people have lived by themselves for generations. . . . If ever a college held a great light aloft in a dark place that college is Berea. . . . The cure for the numerous lawlessness of the feud is not an army of sheriffs: it is Berea College. Lawlessness ends wherever the college gets a foothold."

More astounding than the above tragedy-inspired sayings are the following quotations from *The Southern Mountaineers*, written by John Fox, Jr., which was published in Scribner's in 1901 and later in *Blue Grass and Rhododendron*. He says: "The first generation after the Revolution had no schools and churches. Both are rare and primitive today. To this day, few Southern Mountaineers can read, write, and cipher; few indeed can do more." . . . "And it is really startling to realize that when one speaks of the Southern Mountaineers, he speaks of nearly three millions of people who live in eight states—Virginia and Alabama and the Southern states between."

---

\*Berea College is in Kentucky.

†Hillsville is in Virginia—more than a hundred miles from the Kentucky border.

The mountaineer of missionary literature and of missionary expositions is no higher type of the uncivilized man than is the mountaineer of the newspapers and magazines. We take the following from *The Highlanders of the South*, a book written by Samuel H. Thompson and used in the study course of the stewards who had charge of the mountain section of the missionary exposition called the "World in Baltimore."\* "Shirts, trousers, coat, shoes, socks and hats constitute the wardrobe of the average Southern mountaineer. Very few of them wear under-clothes." From what the author terms, "Some statistics relating to an isolated township of average conditions, in a border country of the southern Appalachians," we take: "Illegitimacy: sixteen and two-thirds per cent of parents illegitimate, eight per cent of children illegitimate." In one of the closing paragraphs of the book we find: "You would be surprised to have a Methodist preacher take you far up in the mountains where the moral relations of the sexes are hardly more sacred than among lower animals. . . . Many, many, such communities have no preacher at all. Many such homes are bare even of the commonest furniture and home-comforts, not having even a comb for the hair."

The people who attended the "World in Baltimore"—also, as I am informed, those who saw the "World in Cincinnati" and the "World in Boston"†—were given the following information regarding Southern mountain life. The scene: A little cabin containing an old bed of prehistoric model; some apples, beans and pepper-pods strung on strings, hanging on the outside walls of the cabin; the following articles scattered about the room: reel, spinning wheels, loom, oven, candle-moulds, hand wool cards, wooden tray and rolling-pin; and some pots swung over an open fire near the cabin. What was told to visitors by the stewards in charge? That the people of the Southern Appalachians live just as they lived a hundred years ago; that they card their wool, spin it, weave their cloth, knit their socks and stockings—all by hand; that they bake their bread in an oven; do their cooking

\*An exposition under the auspices of the Missionary Education Movement, in which practically all the churches of the city took part. In one immense building were scenes representing the life of the various mission fields. Stewards in charge explained the customs, religious life, etc., of each territory represented. The exposition lasted five weeks and was visited by about 150,000 people.

†I have been informed that the attendance at the Boston Exposition was 500,000.

over an open fire; and mould their own candles, which, with the pine torch, serve to illuminate their cabins. By questioning the stewards one received the following information: This exhibit represents the home life of practically all the people of the Southern Appalachians; the articles seen here are in every well-stocked home; the cabins rarely have but one room, though sometimes the better homes have two, one above the other, the upper one being reached by ladder from the outside; improved farm machinery and telephones are not in use anywhere; there are some mail routes, but most of the communities do not get sufficient mail to justify the establishment of routes; a few mission churches have been established, but no other churches are found; the few public schools that exist are almost worthless; little is known of medical skill, there being no physicians except the mountain herb doctor. By referring to our *Guide Book to the Exposition*, we learn that the section represented here "Includes the mountain masses and enclosed valleys of nine states. . . . . The two Virginias and Tennessee may be said to have the largest section of this territory. . . . The whole region is 101,880 square miles in area." Also, that "Lack of transportation and trade, scarcity of money, and timid shrinking from an attempt to invade the outside world—these and like conditions have held the mountaineers fast in their fateful environment." In speaking of the lines of uplift, we read: "As a third and a most indispensable agency of uplift, the missionary forces of the churches must through their self-sacrificing service and transforming ideals create a new life among the Southern mountaineers. This is being done through the establishment of schools and churches and model homes of missionaries through the region by many of the home boards of Northern churches." Note here, first, as in other citations, the broad expanse of territory included: "The mountain masses and enclosed valleys," which in area are "101,880 square miles;" secondly, the location of the largest section of said territory is the two Virginias and Tennessee; thirdly, that the situation is such that even the establishment of model homes is necessary.

Inasmuch as the foregoing pictures of mountain life have been largely an outgrowth of events occurring on Virginia soil, and since accuracy is more easily attainable in a definite study of a particular territory, the reader is now invited to a careful consid-

eration of some facts pertaining to the seventeen extreme south-western counties of the "Old Dominion." The region embraced in these counties is that part of the state so often referred to as the uncivilized mountain section and extends from the counties of Wise and Lee, the scene of John Fox's *Trail of the Lonesome Pine*, to Carroll county, the home of the Allens. In order that the statistical facts may serve as an index to the actual social, religious, educational and economic conditions of the remotest of these counties, it is necessary to give specific data by counties rather than for the section as a whole. In the tables given, there may be some minor errors, but the facts have been very carefully collected and are approximately correct.

That the other figures given may be studied and applied intelligently, the area and population of each county is given in table No. 1.

TABLE No. 1

**AREA, POPULATION, PHYSICIANS, LAWYERS, NORMAL-SCHOOL  
ATTENDANCE AND HIGH SCHOOLS**

| COUNTIES          | Area Sq.<br>Miles | Population     | Physicians | Lawyers    | Teacher Attended<br>Normal, 1905 | No. High<br>Schools | Total Value<br>High School<br>Property |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|------------|------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Bland .....       | 352               | 5,154          | 6          | 3          | 11                               | 3                   | \$ 5,000                               |
| Buchanan .....    | 492               | 12,334         | 4          | 8          | 13                               | 1                   | 15,000                                 |
| Carroll .....     | 445               | 21,119         | 8          | 6          | 74                               | 1                   | 23,000                                 |
| Dickenson .....   | 324               | 9,199          | 5          | 13         | 39                               | 2                   | 10,000                                 |
| Floyd .....       | 383               | 14,092         | 12         | 8          | 59                               | 1                   | 4,500                                  |
| Giles .....       | 349               | 11,623         | 12         | 10         | 21                               | 4                   | 30,000                                 |
| Grayson .....     | 438               | 19,856         | 13         | 11         | 95                               | 8                   | 50,000                                 |
| Lee .....         | 483               | 23,840         | 12         | 12         | 70                               | 5                   | 50,000                                 |
| Montgomery .....  | 394               | 21,470         | 20         | 13         | 32                               | 5                   | 50,000                                 |
| Pulaski .....     | 338               | 17,246         | 15         | 11         | 22                               | 4                   | 15,000                                 |
| Russell .....     | 503               | 23,474         | 23         | 14         | 40                               | 2                   | 32,000                                 |
| Scott .....       | 535               | 23,814         | 18         | 10         | 91                               | 7                   | 38,000                                 |
| Smythe .....      | 444               | 20,326         | 12         | 6          | 21                               | 5                   | 50,000                                 |
| Tazewell .....    | 557               | 24,946         | 33         | 27         | 34                               | 5                   | 67,500                                 |
| Washington .....  | 605               | 39,077         | 25         | 20         | 87                               | 15                  | 50,000                                 |
| Wise .....        | 413               | 34,162         | 21         | 41         | 67                               | 7                   | 140,000                                |
| Wythe .....       | 474               | 20,372         | 21         | 15         | 47                               | 5                   | 78,000                                 |
| <b>TOTAL.....</b> | <b>7479</b>       | <b>342,001</b> | <b>260</b> | <b>227</b> | <b>814</b>                       | <b>80</b>           | <b>\$708,000</b>                       |

Since the number and the ability of professional men, especially of physicians and lawyers, forms a good index to the progressiveness of a county, the number following each of these professions

is given in the above table. The physicians included in the enumeration are graduates of medical schools and have passed the examination given by the State Medical Board of Examiners. Likewise, the lawyers included have passed the State Bar Examination, and the majority of them are university trained men and will compare favorably with the lawyers of any section of the state. Approximately, there is one physician for every thirteen hundred, and one lawyer for every fifteen hundred of population.

The high school figures were obtained from division superintendents of schools and from the high school report issued in 1910 by Dr. Payne, of the University of Virginia. Normal School data were obtained from the report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The schools referred to here are recognized state high schools, and the majority of them prepare their pupils for college entrance. In these schools, with two exceptions, elementary work is given, but the entire time of from one to five teachers in each school is devoted to high school work. The term of all schools having high school departments is eight or nine months, and the course of study is that outlined by the State Board of Education. Practically all the high school principals are men holding A. B. degrees from good colleges, while the teaching force usually consists of women who have had either college or normal training. In addition to the work given in the state high schools, many district schools give one and two years of high school training.

The majority of the high school buildings are constructed according to modern plans. The above estimate of their value is very conservative. Similar property in the city or away from a section having abundant building material would be valued at something like double the value given in the table.

In the three Summer Normal Schools held each year in this part of Virginia, the teachers receive training under those who stand among the educational leaders of the state. I have been unable to get complete recent data with respect to the elementary schools, but the large attendance at the Normals strongly indicates a progressive educational spirit. A very large percentage of all the women teachers have received training in the State Normal Schools at Farmville and Harrisonburg.

TABLE No. 2

## COLLEGES

[Information obtained from the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1911. Some deficiencies in this report have been supplied from other sources.]

| COLLEGES       |                                     | No. of Faculty | No. of Students | Value of Property |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <b>MALE:</b>   | Emory and Henry College.....        | 13             | 226             | \$208,579         |
|                | Virginia Polytechnic Institute..... | 49             | 500             | 683,750           |
| <b>FEMALE:</b> | Sullens College.....                | 26             | 284             | 125,000           |
|                | Intermont College.....              | 74             | 725             | 176,000           |
|                | Martha Washington College.....      | 20             | 173             | 125,000           |
|                | Stonewall Jackson Institute.....    | 14             | 102             | 66,500            |
|                | Marion Female Institute.....        | ....           | ....            | 60,000            |

Dr. Abbot's reference to Berea College as "a light held aloft in a dark place" illustrates a common mistake made by sincere men who assert that the education of the mountain boys and girls depends predominantly upon the mountain mission schools. Such institutions as we have mentioned are vigorous and growing, have the confidence and respect of the people, and are doing most effective work in higher education in the mountain districts.

TABLE No. 3

## MINISTERS IN CHARGE OF CHURCHES

[Data obtained from ministers of the various denominations.]

| COUNTIES          | M. E.<br>South | M. S.<br>Baptist | Presby-<br>terian | Christ'n<br>Luthran |
|-------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Bland.....        | 4              | 1                | 1                 | 1                   |
| Buchanan.....     | 3              | 1                | 1                 | 0                   |
| Carroll.....      | 3              | 2                | 1                 | 0                   |
| Dickenson.....    | 2              | 3                | 0                 | 0                   |
| Floyd.....        | 2              | 3                | 0                 | 1                   |
| Giles.....        | 4              | 2                | 1                 | 3                   |
| Grayson.....      | 7              | 3                | 0                 | 0                   |
| Lee.....          | 7              | 3                | 1                 | 2                   |
| Montgomery.....   | 7              | 2                | 4                 | 1                   |
| Pulaski.....      | 5              | 2                | 2                 | 3                   |
| Russell.....      | 5              | 4                | 0                 | 0                   |
| Scott.....        | 5              | 2                | 1                 | 0                   |
| Smythe.....       | 8              | 4                | 2                 | 0                   |
| Tazewell.....     | 11             | 3                | 3                 | 7                   |
| Washington.....   | 7              | 9                | 8                 | 3                   |
| Wise.....         | 9              | 4                | 2                 | 1                   |
| Wythe.....        | 8              | 3                | 1                 | 2                   |
| <b>TOTAL.....</b> | <b>97</b>      | <b>51</b>        | <b>28</b>         | <b>16</b>           |

In addition to the denominations represented in the above table, other church organizations, each having from two to twelve pastors working in various localities, are the Methodist Episcopal, German Baptist, Episcopal, Holiness, and the Catholic. The Primitive Baptist Church has a large following in three or four counties, but we do not know the number of ministers belonging to this organization. Approximately, this mountain section has one minister for every eleven hundred people. These ministers are fairly well distributed throughout the district, no part of which is unevangelized. The annual conference reports for 1910 show the following financial data of the M. E. Church, South, in this territory: Churches, 386; value of churches, \$657,570; parsonages, 77; value of parsonages, \$185,500; money raised for various church purposes, \$243,766.

TABLE No. 4

## BANKING

[Figures taken from a bankers' directory (*Credit Company of Chicago and Illinois*) for 1912. In a few instances, corrections have been made so as to conform to recent changes.]

| COUNTIES          | #<br>Banks | Paid-Up<br>Capital | Surplus            | Deposits            |
|-------------------|------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Bland .....       | 1          | \$ 11,000          | \$ 17,000          | \$ 65,000           |
| Buchanan.....     | 1          | 25,000             | 11,000             | 125,000             |
| Carroll.....      | 2          | 48,000             | 38,200             | 189,000             |
| Dickenson.....    | 1          | 25,000             | 25,000             | 150,000             |
| Floyd .....       | 2          | 55,000             | 44,000             | 223,000             |
| Giles.....        | 5          | 79,000             | 38,100             | 386,000             |
| Grayson .....     | 4          | 145,000            | 21,800             | 393,000             |
| Lee.....          | 4          | 75,000             | 58,300             | 386,000             |
| Montgomery.....   | 6          | 232,000            | 217,000            | 1,134,500           |
| Pulaski.....      | 4          | 139,000            | 106,100            | 674,000             |
| Russell.....      | 4          | 115,000            | 34,500             | 363,000             |
| Scott .....       | 3          | 73,500             | 30,400             | 493,000             |
| Smythe .....      | 4          | 146,000            | 166,000            | 609,000             |
| Tazewell.....     | 7          | 350,000            | 200,000            | 1,200,000           |
| Washington*.....  | 10         | 575,000            | 319,400            | 3,083,000           |
| Wise .....        | 6          | 275,000            | 123,000            | 1,126,000           |
| Wythe .....       | 6          | 170,000            | 141,400            | 689,000             |
| <b>TOTAL.....</b> | <b>70</b>  | <b>\$2,628,500</b> | <b>\$1,387,700</b> | <b>\$10,855,000</b> |

\*Including Bristol City, which is partly in Tennessee.

TABLE No. 5  
RURAL MAILS, PHONES AND RAILROADS

[Data as to mails obtained from Department of Rural Mails; that pertaining to phones taken from tax book of the Virginia Corporation Commission. Miles of railroad were calculated from railway timetables.]

| COUNTIES          | MAILS              |                       |              | No. Miles<br>Phone Wire | No. Miles<br>Railroad |
|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
|                   | No. Star<br>Routes | No. R. F.<br>D.Routes | No. Miles    |                         |                       |
| Bland.....        | 4                  | 5                     | 139          | 10                      |                       |
| Buchanan.....     | 12                 | 0                     | 51           | 15                      |                       |
| Carroll.....      | 12                 | 17                    | 747          | 35                      |                       |
| Dickenson.....    | 15                 | 0                     | 75           | 0                       |                       |
| Floyd.....        | 7                  | 22                    | 534          | 0                       |                       |
| Giles.....        | 7                  | 3                     | 337          | 70                      |                       |
| Grayson.....      | 14                 | 22                    | 25           | 10                      |                       |
| Lee.....          | 4                  | 23                    | 429          | 100                     |                       |
| Montgomery.....   | 9                  | 9                     | 836          | 75                      |                       |
| Pulaski.....      | 4                  | 11                    | 697          | 45                      |                       |
| Russell.....      | 11                 | 12                    | 210          | 50                      |                       |
| Scott.....        | 7                  | 13                    | 158          | 80                      |                       |
| Smythe.....       | 5                  | 18                    | 335          | 37                      |                       |
| Tazewell.....     | 12                 | 10                    | 437          | 54                      |                       |
| Washington.....   | 5                  | 19                    | 1,421        | 72                      |                       |
| Wise.....         | 9                  | 4                     | 862          | 85                      |                       |
| Wythe.....        | 1                  | 17                    | 762          | 58                      |                       |
| <b>TOTAL.....</b> | <b>138</b>         | <b>205</b>            | <b>8,055</b> | <b>796</b>              |                       |

This table forcibly contradicts the loosely made assertions that south-west Virginia has no commercial facilities and no means of finding out what is going on in the world.

Rural free delivery and star mail routes penetrate nearly every nook of this section. According to government regulation, the 205 rural carriers must handle at least 615,000 pieces of mail each month. This amount is greatly augmented by the 138 daily star routes. The fact is not to be overlooked that all the leading towns get their mail by railway service.

The community without phone service is rare, indeed. The figures given in the table refer to chartered lines only. Besides these, there are hundreds of miles of private lines which connect with the lines of chartered companies. Thus, in Grayson county there are only twenty-five miles of phone line owned by a chartered company, yet an investigation reveals the fact that there are about thirty-five hundred phones in the county.

Five great railway systems enter this section, namely: the Norfolk & Western, Virginian, Southern, Louisville & Nashville, and the Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio. The table includes only passenger lines. Lumber and mineral roads are numerous in some sections.

So far, I have let statistical facts refute the many unfounded assertions concerning the Virginia mountaineers. But, since some things cannot be told in figures, a few general remarks, based on thirty years' experience in this section, may not be amiss. However, I shall make no attempt to describe minutely the mountaineer, to enumerate what he eats and drinks, nor to say where-withal he is clothed. For any description of the mountain-folk of Virginia as a homogeneous people of a single type is misleading. There are many classes of mountaineers, the rich and the poor, the good and the bad, the learned and the ignorant, the cultured and the boorish. Where is a section of country of which this is not true?

The "typical home" of the "mountain whites," the rough and ill-kept cabin, which appears so often in current literature, is preposterous. Such may be a typical cabin, although the unrepresentative, the worst cabin of all, is usually shown; but cabins constitute only a small percentage of the homes. Beautiful dwellings, worth from two thousand to five thousand dollars, are in most every community, while residences costing from five thousand to twenty thousand and even thirty thousand dollars are not at all uncommon. How absurdly false, then, is the statement that "There is being a general uplift through the establishment . . . of model homes of missionaries through this region by many of the home boards of Northern churches."

The colonial household articles, which are said to be in every well-stocked mountain home, can scarcely be found at all. Those who are fortunate enough to possess them, value them, not as articles of common use, but as heirlooms. The classic spinning wheel, the reel, the bake-oven, and the candle moulds, which are so familiar in literature, have, except in rare instances, become relics of the past, and the mountain children know of their use only through stories told them by their parents and grandparents. It is true that there are scattered here and there, individuals who own and operate the hand-loom in order to supply

with home-woven carpets many who prefer this kind to any other, though more costly modern coverings are in general use. In my day I have never known of the hand-loom being used for any other purpose.

Improved farm machinery—mowers, rakes, grain drills, and reapers—are in common use everywhere. Of course, many of the leading farmers have mountain lands where these machines cannot be operated, yet, for the most part, such land serves for grazing purposes, the valley land only being cultivated. In some sections, where mining and lumbering are the chief industries, can be seen little patches of corn and garden truck which are cultivated with small though not primitive tools. Such cultivation represents the avocational rather than the vocational farmer. The same thing is true of the border land of good farming communities where dwells the laborer on his little plot of ground which he takes pride in cultivating. Yet, in the main, he obtains his living from the nearby farmer for whom he works.

The poor of the Virginia mountains have opportunities as good as, perhaps better than, the poor of the cities. Poverty, squalor, and degradation, such as one can see in the slums of any large city, is very uncommon among the mountain people of Virginia. There, the poor are not segregated. All classes attend the same churches and the same schools. The farmer sits at the table with his laborers, and all partake of the same kinds of food. The land-owner and the tenant visit and mingle with each other on terms approaching equality. Under these conditions, poverty is not so galling nor such a barrier to those aspiring to better their fortunes.

To the statement, that "The moral relations of the sexes are scarcely more sacred than among the lower animals," I have no statistics to offer in refutation. I merely enter a protest that such assertions are vile and slanderous. If there is any one virtue in which the mountain people excel, it is in the high standard of morality which pervades the sex relationship. Race purity is, likewise, zealously preserved. The cohabitation of whites and negroes would not be tolerated by the whites of the remotest mountain sections.

Many uncomplimentary remarks have been made concerning the character of the religion and the worship of the people. Re-

ligion is said to be the propelling force actuating the feudist and the "moonshiner." This is false. These classes, while in no sense atheistic, constitute the worst element of mountain society and have nothing to do with church work. The ministry, on the whole, are educated, enlightened, and progressive. The emotional revival, whether for better or worse, is rapidly passing away. Just a word about the Primitive Baptists, who are quite numerous in a few counties, and who have been the targets for many darts. Their religious beliefs we will not discuss. As a people, they are plain and simple in habits and noted as law-abiding citizens. Many of their ministers are men of ability and occupy prominent positions in their localities.

As yet, only slight reference has been made to that important character, the "moonshiner." From the publicity given him, it is no wonder that the belief is abroad that Virginia mountaineer and "moonshiner" are synonymous terms. The truth is, the temperance sentiment in the mountain sections is as strong, or stronger, than in any other part of the state. In these seventeen counties, whisky is legally sold in only three towns, and in one of these the will of the people, as expressed at the polls, was overruled by a legal technicality. The anti-saloon sentiment is said to be a result of competition between the saloon-keeper and the illicit distiller. This is not true. The prohibitionist is no friend of the "moonshiner." By most of the people, whisky drinking is condemned, regardless of whether it is made legally or illegally. However, illicit distilling in a few counties is common, not that the citizen-body uphold it, but because the mountain glens offer favorable retreats for the few who wish to carry on this unlawful occupation.

Recent history shows that this part of Virginia has been furnishing her quota of the prominent men of the state. This "outlaw" section gave five prominent generals to the Confederate army, namely: Generals J. E. B. Stuart, William E. Jones, John B. Floyd, William Terry and James A. Walker. Since the war, this "lawless" region has continuously been represented on the bench of the State Supreme Court, Judges Stapleton, Richardson, Phelgar and Buchanan having held this position. During the same period this mountain section has produced four attorney-generals, namely: Taylor, Blair, Ayers, and Williams; three lieu-

tenant-governors: Walker, Kent, and Tyler; and one governor: J. Hoge Tyler. One of the men most prominently suggested as next governor is Henry C. Stuart, a mountaineer. At one time, both United States senators of Virginia—Judge John A. Johnston and Colonel Robert E. Wythers—were from southwest Virginia. Dr. George Ben Johnston, perhaps the best known surgeon of Virginia, is a product of her mountain soil.

Since this is a mountain region and highway construction costly, there are many rough, bad roads. But, the fact that there are two hundred and five rural mail routes in these seventeen counties, is sufficient to convince any reasonable person that trails are not the only mountain highways. For the government regulation as to the establishment of rural routes is: "It is required that the roads traversed by rural routes be in good condition, unobstructed by gates, unless such gates are made to open automatically: that there be no unbridged creeks or streams not fordable at all seasons of the year." That the people are alive on the good roads question, is indicated in the report of the Virginia Highway Commission for 1912, which shows that of \$3,853,000.00 of bond issues for highway improvement in the state \$2,484,000.00 is accredited to the mountain counties which we are studying. Since this report was made, about \$500,000.00 more has been voted by these counties for the same purpose.

According to the census of 1910, there are in this section 33,431 native white illiterates, or, approximately, one person out of every ten is classed as illiterate. This is a bad showing, but strikingly different from Fox's assertion—"that few mountaineers can read and write." This illiteracy is due to past, not to present, conditions. Because the state had no free school system until 1870, and because of the impoverished conditions and local strife growing out of the Civil War, the mountain youth for more than a quarter of a century had little opportunity to secure even an elementary education. That the high rate of illiteracy is an inheritance of the past, surviving in the old and middle-aged, is indicated by the fact that, though the population is rapidly increasing, the number of illiterates, with the passing of the older generation, is gradually growing smaller. Thus, the population of the section increased more than fifty-four thousand from 1900

to 1910, yet the number of illiterates during this period decreased more than four thousand.

After talking to a friend in a strain very similar to that in which I have been writing, he amused me by saying: "What you tell me may be true; but you have not told about the real mountaineers." He could not be made to believe but that in large territories the predominating type of manhood is he of the coonskin cap, dressed in home-spun, and carrying his favorite companion, the old mountain rifle.

To the dubious reader, let me say that I have not avoided the real question, but have taken as a basis a block of territory commonly referred to as the abode of the "uneducated," the "uncivilized," and the "lawless." In applying the term mountaineer to all the inhabitants of the section, I have merely adopted the common usage. I have refrained from describing *the typical character*, because he does not exist. But to satisfy the doubting Thomas, I will say that there is a low stratum of society, representatives of which can be found in almost any neighborhood. Here are ignorant and worthless human beings, but they are not cut off from civilizing influences; even the few who are scattered here and there in the mountain coves, are within easy reach of schools and churches.

Dickenson and Buchanan are the most mountainous, and, in development, the most backward counties of this region; yet, a census made of Clintwood, a village in Dickenson, twenty-five miles from the railroad, and having a population of three hundred and forty people, revealed the fact that sixteen per cent. of its adult population were college and university graduates. Six of this number hold degrees from the University of Virginia, and among other schools represented are: University of Chicago, University of Ohio, William and Mary College, and State Normal School at Farmville. Practically the same conditions prevail at Grundy, in Buchanan county. In this little mountain hamlet reside ministers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, and business men, not only college-trained but possessing culture and the spirit of progress in a high degree.

If the popular conception of Virginia mountain life does not correspond to the actual facts, then arises the question: Why these misconceptions? An intimate relation to the section and people

of whom I write, and a careful study of many things which have been said and written about them, have convinced me that, whether followed through ignorance or otherwise, unscholarly methods of study account for much of the false information that has been disseminated.

The first unscientific method to be noticed is that of describing past conditions and ascribing these conditions to the present. Many who write and speak of this section, base their assertions on old antiquated jokes and stories told by our fathers years ago, and upon works of fiction which refer to conditions long since past. Much stress is laid upon Fox's novels in their characterization of this section and its people. No account is taken of the fact that the time of the *Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* dates back to and before the Civil War, and that the *Trail of the Lone-some Pine* carries us back twenty-five years. What can be more unscientific than the acceptance of highly colored descriptions of persons and events of more than a quarter of a century ago as applicable to the present? There has been a persistent refusal to recognize the prodigious strides made in industrial, and consequently in other, lines of development during the last twenty-five or thirty years, and the blind assertion is made that "They live just as they did a hundred years ago." An example of this was seen at the missionary exposition in Baltimore, where the *Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* was advertised as one of the most popular missionary books of the day.

The extent to which one may be misled by this judging of the present by the past may be seen by a comparison of the school system of Wise county twenty-three years ago with the system of today. Then there were about thirty schools in the county and about the same number of teachers. The schools were taught in rough log buildings, and the total school fund was \$7,000. Now, according to the superintendent's report, there are seventy-seven schools, employing one hundred and sixty-one teachers. The buildings are modern, several of them having cost from twenty to thirty-five thousand dollars each. For the year ending September, 1911, the total sum spent on schools in the county was \$116,649.91. Similar advances have been made along other lines.

Again, in describing mountain conditions there has been much generalizing from few particulars. The picturesque, the unique, and the uncommon persons and things are thrown on the screen of publicity as "typical." A Virginia "moonshiner" kills a revenue officer. Newspapers would have one believe that all the mountain people are "moonshiners." The people of a large section of country are denounced because of the crime of an individual. When the Allens shot up the Hillsboro court, three million people were condemned for the act; but when the gunmen of New York City killed Herman Rosenthal, only those intimately connected with the crime were censured.

The question arises: Are these false deductions and conclusions arising from unscientific methods of procedure the outcome of ignorance or of unscrupulous misrepresentations? This is a delicate question; but I do not hesitate in saying that both ignorance and dishonesty have played a part.

In addition to those who write ignorantly about what they have neither seen nor heard, different classes of persons continually visit the mountains and keep alive the old stories concerning the life there. To three classes of these, we will give some attention: (1) the newspaper reporter and the magazine writer, (2) the civil engineer and the prospector, (3) the so-called mountain missionary.

The newspaper reporter from abroad visits the mountains after some extraordinary crime. He knows the popular conception of mountain life and what his readers are expecting. He improves his opportunity by displaying his imaginative powers and giving the world some startling news.

When the storm center has passed away and while the echoes of the newspaper article still linger, the magazine writer arrives on the scene to investigate the conditions which have led to such a crime. He, too, wants to give his readers something to feast upon. He knows what he wants to write, but he must appear to make an investigation. In the mountains, as elsewhere, it is easy to find what one is looking for. A production more literary than the newspaper article appears. It is the same old story of a people a century behind the times.

Many tales of hair-breadth escapes from the "moonshiner" and of the uncivilized life among the mountains come from engineers and prospectors who frequent the mountain section. They usu-

ally come into contact only with the few who live in or near the mountains. Often, perhaps, they describe life as they believe it to be from what they see; but they do not see enough to judge correctly. However, the following incident which came under my observation less than a year ago shows that the stories circulated by the engineer and the prospector are not always true.

An engineer corps boarded at a refined and cultured home in a progressive community. Into this home came regularly a leading daily newspaper and some four or five leading magazines. Imagine the landlady's surprise and chagrin, after her boarders had departed, when she came across an open, unmailed letter, a part of which read something like this: "Tell me what is going on in the world. What has become of the Allens? You know we never see a newspaper or magazine up here."

Are the reports given out by those working in, or investigating, the region as a mission field also unreliable? Yes; they make mistakes similar to those made by others, and some of them grossly misrepresent the true situation. So-called missionaries, working in Tennessee and Kentucky, do not hesitate to describe Virginia mountain life, though they have never been there. If newspaper reports be true, a lady connected with the recent Baltimore missionary exposition sent an appeal to Governor Mann in behalf of the Allens, asking him to pardon them because they had never had any religious or civilizing influences and were not to be judged by the same standards as other people.

Many methods used by some school and church people to awaken sympathy and to obtain money at the North are dishonorable and contemptible. Here is a story which did not occur in Virginia, but it illustrates my point. This story was told me by an educated and responsible minister, and I vouch for it.

A missionary of the Northern Presbyterian Church was working in Cumberland county, Tennessee. He regularly preached at several places, including Grassy Branch, one of the best communities in the county. Nearly all the people there own their homes and live in comfort. In this neighborhood are three churches—Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian. Another minister connected with Maryville College visited him in order to go over a part of his work. Instead of following the public road through Grassy Cove—a fine community—they took a path around the

side of the cove—no doubt to deceive the visiting clergyman—and went to the home of a family known as the most careless and indifferent family in the whole community. This family lived in a log house, satisfied with few comforts and conveniences, though they could have lived much better had they tried. These two ministers came to this home unexpectedly and asked the privilege of taking a picture of the house and family, with the request that the family would not change their clothes. This picture was to be used in the north to illustrate the life of the "Mountain Whites," the object being to raise money.

This is not at all an extreme case. Many who profess to teach others the way of life are very active in slandering a country and its people. They secure the most uninviting pictures possible, as well as out of date household utensils and articles of clothing found only in garrets. We have already seen for what purpose these are used. One might as well judge Fifth Avenue life in New York from the worst scenes obtainable on the East Side as to judge Virginia mountain life by photographs of scenes not typical but very, very rare.

Another common mistake is the misuse of the term mission field as applied to this territory. Is a country which is completely evangelized and well supplied with good churches and educated ministers to be classed as a mission field because certain denominations do not happen to be strong in that particular region, and, in order to maintain ministers, must supplement their salaries from mission funds? Practically all the appeals for mission money and mission workers for the "mountain whites" come from religious organizations which have very little foothold in the Virginia mountains. Too often is the mission money supplied by northern churches used to build churches where churches are plentiful rather than to give the gospel to those who have it not.

With the rapid development of the mountain resources, new towns are springing up, and in such towns help is needed in keeping the church abreast of the times. But this assistance can best be given by those church bodies which are well established in the mountains, and which are ever ready and alert to extend the gospel. New York City has her mission churches, and it would be folly for the church organizations of the Virginia mountains to

send special missionaries to New York to organize and run city mission churches separate and distinct from the work being done by the New York churches. Just so it is not necessary for New York, Boston or any section of country to send missionaries to southwest Virginia.

In this Virginia territory there are no real mission schools. Several denominations have colleges, and the Missionary Baptists and Presbyterians have some preparatory schools. These schools are the results of the efforts of local enterprising citizens under the direction of their respective churches, which, through their educational boards, give some assistance. If these be mission schools, then all denominational schools are mission schools.

If aid is to come from outside, let it be given to the established colleges of the section that they may keep pace with the great onward march of education. Their endowments must come largely from outside sources, for, while there are wealthy farmers and grazers in the district, there are no financial magnates. To say that our colleges are greatly handicapped from lack of endowment does not mean that they are not doing a great work, and that our people are ignorant and unprogressive. Some of the greatest educational institutions of the country find it necessary to make special campaigns in order to secure sufficient endowments. Although Johns Hopkins University, University of Virginia, Randolph-Macon College, and Goucher College have made such campaigns, no one thinks of calling them mission schools.

It has been my purpose to correct wrong impressions, not to laud the mountain people. They have great social, religious, and educational problems to solve, but these problems, while perhaps in some respects different from, are not greater than the problems which confront the people of other sections of our country. The mountain population have neither crowning virtues nor peculiar vices which strikingly differentiate them from other rural Americans.

## Contemporary British Criticism of the Fourteenth Amendment

CHARLES WALLACE COLLINS

Author of "The Fourteenth Amendment and the States."

Among the prohibitions relative to the powers of the proposed Irish legislature in Mr. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill (The Government of Ireland Bill of 1893) appeared the following clause:

"The powers of the Irish Legislature shall not extend to the making of any law whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law in accordance with settled principles and precedents, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation." (Ibid. Subsection 8 of Section 4. The quotation is from the bill as it came from the committee. As originally introduced it lacked the words, "in accordance with settled principles and precedents." None of these provisions appeared among the restrictions in Mr. Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill in 1886.)

These words were taken almost verbatim from that part of Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which reads as follows:

". . . . . nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

At that time, in 1893, when this clause came up for debate in the House of Commons, it was of course put forward as a Government measure. The Irish Nationalists opposed it on the ground that it would seriously cripple the Irish Legislature. The Opposition also opposed it for the very different reason that it was too vague a limitation to effect the proper protection to the individual and property rights of the minority. Prof. A. V. Dicey, one of the most learned opponents of Home Rule for Ireland, gave voice to these criticisms of the Unionists in the following language:

"On the Restrictions it were easy to write an elaborate treatise. Should our new constitution ever come into force, they will give

rise to a whole series of judgments, and to lengthy books explanatory thereof. No lawyer will venture to predict what for instance may be the interpretation placed by the courts on such expressions as "due process of law," "just compensation" and the like, and it is more than doubtful whether the so-called safeguards are so expressed as to carry out the intention of their authors, or, even in words, adequately to protect either the authority of the Imperial Parliament or the rights of individuals." (*A Leap in the Dark* by A. V. Dicey. London. 1893. p. 81.)

In passing from the ill-fated Home Rule Bill of 1893 to Mr. Asquith's Home Rule Bill of 1912 (Government of Ireland Bill; ordered to be printed by the House of Commons April 16, 1912; Bill 136) we cover comparatively a wide stretch of time during which there were many important developments both in this country and in Great Britain. It is significant that the Government introduced the Bill in 1912 without those clauses copied from our Constitution to which we have made reference above. However, when on October 22, 1912, there came up for debate Clause 3, prohibiting the Irish Parliament from interfering with religious freedom, Mr. Astor, of the Opposition, proposed to add to it the following amendment, providing that the Irish Parliament shall not make any law

"Whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law in accordance with settled principles and precedents, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation."

This amendment is the same as the provision in the Government bill of 1893. But on this occasion it was as vehemently opposed by the Government as it was advocated by the Opposition. In the long debate which followed, that which is of peculiar interest to Americans is that the principles of a very vital portion of the Constitution of the United States were under fire. These we shall now examine with some degree of particularity.

All told about twenty speeches were made pro and con. Among those of the Opposition who spoke for the amendment were Sir Edward Carson and Mr. A. Bonar Law. It is worthy of note that the advocates of this amendment at this time were the most bitter opponents of Home Rule for Ireland.

The arguments of the Opposition followed chiefly the following lines of thought: That these words were needed in the Irish Constitution to protect the liberties and the property of the Unionist minority in Ireland. These latter are chiefly located in Ulster. There was fear of religious persecution by Protestants both in Ulster and in the South. There was fear that laws would be made to harass the landlords, although under the bill the Irish land still remained under the control of the Imperial Parliament. These men therefore wished to insert these clauses so that any person in Ireland, who might think an act of the Irish Parliament unjust, would have the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at London under the questions of "due process of law" or "equal protection of the laws," just as appeals may be had in the United States by any person in a State to the Supreme Court at Washington.

In discussing the history of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment and the operation of its restraint clauses, the arguments of the Opposition were highly idealistic and *a priori*, showing little acquaintance with the true situation over here. One of the chief grounds they proposed for incorporating these clauses into the Home Rule Bill was that after an experience of two generations the United States saw fit to adopt them as their mature and deliberate judgment, and further that in the United States they had operated with such success as to have given no cause for complaint! The true purpose of the Opposition was of course to kill the Home Rule Bill, and so much the better if they could do it under the guise of benevolence. They must have known—at any rate the Government certainly did know—that in the United States the Fourteenth Amendment operates against Home Rule and in favor of paternalism.

When the Government was twitted for a complete change of front, having themselves proposed these very clauses in 1893, the very practical reply was made that the Government had more sense now than then, having learned something during the intervening nineteen years. It had. This is quite evident from their speeches, although a closer study of the history of the operation of the Fourteenth Amendment in our courts would have greatly strengthened their arguments.

It is not our desire in any way to attempt here to go into the merits of this controversy, except in so far as they are related to the Constitution of the United States. But we do desire to study these English criticisms of our Constitution. They are contemporaneous with our own struggles over these very questions and they come from the very highest authorities in the British Empire—from the Government themselves. Perchance we too may learn something.

Mr. Astor having spoken at length in favor of the amendment, Sir John Simon, the Solicitor-General, then took the floor. Admitting that this was "one of the fundamental propositions of the United States," in an able speech—full of dignity and patient moderation—he made among others the following observations:

"We do regard it as a serious thing to introduce into the Bill matters which, it seems to us, are not really susceptible to judicial examination, which would undoubtedly increase the amount of litigation and disputes, and which really would not lead ultimately, as it seems to us, to definiteness and precision in the powers of this Parliament, but, on the contrary, would raise a series of very grave and very difficult questions, the precise arising of which it is very difficult indeed to prophesy. I say, quite frankly, that it is not possible for me to know, and I do not think it is possible for anybody, however carefully they consider it,—I do not think it is possible for anybody to say now how, in time to come, a limitation of this sort may raise disputes and how inconvenient, and it may be absurd, it would turn out to be." (Parliamentary Debates. October 22, 1912. Col. 2078.)

Mr. John Ward, of the Labour Party, in opposing this amendment, painted a rather lurid picture of the social and economic conditions in the United States, due to the operation of these very restraint clauses in the Fourteenth Amendment. Speaking thus of these restraints upon legislation for the benefit of labor and the betterment of industrial conditions, he said:

"That is the cause of the terrible condition of affairs in the United States and to suggest that words ("due process of law" and "equal protection of the laws") which have played such havoc in the matter of industrial conditions there should be enacted here, after the forty years' terrible experience of social reformers in the United States, is one of the most astounding propositions imagin-

able! I suggest that the Labour Members ought to take more notice of this Amendment than of any other on this paper. The whole future of industrial democracy in Ireland is at stake."

To most of us these words no doubt appear a trifle too strong. But it must be remembered that they were spoken at the very time when our own orators were on the war path, so to speak, during our last presidential campaign. They appear mild by the side of some of the denunciations of these conditions by some of our own leaders.

There were on this occasion several other protests against putting these clauses into the Irish Constitution, the most notable of which was that of Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister. After discussing briefly the history of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and commenting on the absence of these words from the colonial constitutions of the British Empire, he spoke as follows:

"The language here used, sanctioned as I agree it is by the precedent of the United States of America, is language full of ambiguity, abounding in pitfalls, and certainly provocative of every kind of frivolous litigation. Look at the adjectives used. What are "settled principles"? What is "equal protection of the law"? What is "just compensation"? In every one of these cases you have adjectives. . . . They are really matters of opinion, bias, or inclination and judgment which cannot be acted on under anything like settled rules of law as to whether or not in any particular case equality or fairness, some abstract, some probably very varying standard of equality or fairness, has or has not been observed. I cannot imagine any subject in which unnecessary and gratuitous litigation would be more readily invited, or in regard to which the decisions of the tribunals would be received with less general respect and authority." Then, although disclaiming any intention of intruding into the domestic controversies of the United States of America, he earnestly besought his colleagues to hesitate before placing such fetters as these on the Irish Parliament.

The other speeches for the Government were of this same tenor. Mr. Munro-Ferguson, in closing the debate for the Government, made the following remark: "This is a very interesting Amendment and the Government has done well in resisting it. It raises

the broadest constitutional question, and the particular case of Ireland. The matter raised by the Amendment is one which is being argued with great vehemence in America at the present time. . . . We find in America, where these words, or practically the same, are in the Constitution, that the gravest difficulties have resulted from that part of the Constitution."

When the question was put, the proposed amendment was lost by a vote of 197 to 299.

By clause 28 of the Home Rule Bill of 1912 appeals from courts in Ireland to the House of Lords are abolished and all appeals, where any right of appeal exists, must be made to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council sitting in London. Now if this amendment were adopted, the Judicial Committee would bear a relationship to the Irish courts similar to that of the Supreme Court of the United States to the state courts. That is to say that any person could in any court of competent jurisdiction raise the question of the constitutionality of any statute—be it even entirely local in its operation—on the grounds of a denial of "due process of law" or "equal protection of the laws", and thus gain in any case the right of appeal to the highest tribunal of the nation. There are however some important and practical distinctions to be made. The Supreme Court of the United States is composed of men selected from the states. They sit in the United States. It is bad enough that local questions from the state can be brought up before them at Washington under these vague clauses. But this is a milder form of paternalism than would result from these same clauses in the Home Rule Bill.

The Judicial Committee is composed of Englishmen. They sit in London separated from Ireland, not only by sixty miles of water, but by centuries of hatred, prejudice, and misunderstanding; by the deep rooted feeling on the one side that there has been oppression and grave injustice, and on the other the fear that retaliation might follow freedom to act. The forces in Ireland now opposed to Home Rule would be far more eager, far more subtle and adroit, to take advantage of these pretexts of appeal to England than are such forces in America to claim protection under the Fourteenth Amendment. It is true that with a Supreme Court at Washington antagonistic to local government, the Fourteenth Amendment could be used to paralyze the state legis-

latures. But at present the tendency is somewhat the other way. Our chief danger in this regard is one of potentiality. So also a Judicial Committee in London, composed of Englishmen out of sympathy with Home Rule, could under these clauses of "due process" and "equal protection" practically annul every act of the Irish Parliament. Such a situation could more easily arise there than here.

It were well if we Americans could take these criticisms of our Constitution to heart. They are not overdrawn. They could have been made even stronger. The writer has several times attempted to point out that the Fourteenth Amendment has a logical place in our Constitution only on the basis of the principle of paternalism.\* It is the very antithesis of Home Rule. It is based on a principle opposite from that of local self government. It gives to an absentee court the power to pass upon the validity of the local legislation of a community of which it forms no part.

There are many among us who think with all sincerity that this is the proper way to protect the rights of a dissenting minority. There are some who believe that a benevolent despotism is after all the best form of government. There is a clear distinction between these two schools of thought. The issue is plain. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman struck at the very root of the matter when he once said, "Good government is no substitute for self government." In the last analysis every true democrat must submit to this acid test. Moreover this is good Jeffersonian doctrine. Democracy and Home Rule go hand in hand. The application of this principle gives to communities the right to make their own mistakes in local affairs and allows them to abide by the consequences. They do not have to look afar off to some supervisory power for help. They must trust to their own strength, taking counsel from others only as they choose. What more inspiring vision than this! To see a people rooted to their own soil, waxing strong and proud and free, because with their own hands they build for themselves! What schools of patriotism these local communities become! What storehouses of manly strength in these social groups! Surely there is enough in our own history to give us faith.

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\*See *American Law Review*, December 1911; *Yale Law Journal*, April 1912; *South Atlantic Quarterly*, April 1912; and *Columbia Law Review*, November 1912. See also his *Fourteenth Amendment and the States*. Little, Brown, and Co. Boston. 1912.

The method by which the Fourteenth Amendment operates as a check to the independence of the state legislatures is almost entirely unknown to the great body of the American people. We do not study the affairs of government as much as we did in the olden days when we fought for our independence and every man knew for what we were fighting. We have grown big and rich *en masse*. We are busy with business. We are no longer so keen to grasp the basic principles which lie at the foundation of the civic life. We have little time for these things. Thus it has become hard now to awaken public interest to an appreciation of those incipient but no less virile forces of paternalism in our political life the which, if left altogether unchecked, may lead to the taking away of our heritage—the right, so dearly bought through centuries of struggle in England and in America, of local self government.

# Otto Ludwig—A Centenary Appreciation

Roy TEMPLE HOUSE

Professor in the State University of Oklahoma

The author of the most poignant short novel in the world's literature is only a name to English-speaking people. To the majority even of cultured Americans he is probably not so much as that. We of the Anglo-Saxon West, with all our enterprise, have not that serious curiosity which keeps Otto Ludwig's countrymen busy at reading even the second-rate literary output of other countries. Germany is flooded with translated American books, from Emerson and Whitman to Nick Carter; but the only way for an American to come to know even the German masterpieces, many of them, at first hand, is to learn German,—a price which the average American is not willing to pay.

Otto Ludwig was born on the 11th of February, 1813, in the village of Eisfeld, near Meiningen, in Thuringia. His whole life, from the beginning, is a sad one. The prevailing tone of his one unperishable production, the novel "Between Heaven and Earth," is one of melancholy,—but neither the life nor the story has a touch of bitterness. The hero of the novel, and the hero of the struggle with disease and excessive conscientiousness which ended so wretchedly in 1865, are alike the sweetest of optimists. They find a sort of happiness in the accomplishment of a difficult task; and if the hero of the book is favored with a simpler problem, as book-heroes generally are, he is no more successful in its solution. "If it should be my fate," the earnest seeker after the law of literary perfection cries out in the midst of his "Shakespeare Studies,"—"to give my last remnant of strength to the search for a way, and then fail to tread it myself, my search may perhaps help others." He did not find the way, but his search,—or at best the manner of it, the unselfish earnestness of it, which yields in nothing to the earnestness of the world's great apostles,—had already helped many others and will come later to help more, as more come to know it. The legacy of a personality is not so often a gain to posterity that we can afford to slight this one.

The father, a civil official living a life embittered by an unjust judgment which had lost him fortune and reputation, died when Otto was a child, and the sickly, sensitive mother, who could not

allow her boy to leave her side long enough to secure an adequate education, died likewise before the boy had reached his majority. Employed in the shop of a coarse, prosperous uncle, a slave to the caprices of the uncle's half-insane housekeeper and mistress, looked upon by the neighbors as a weakling and a failure because he was not shrewd at driving a bargain, the orphan acquired the habit of retiring to his room, shutting out the world of Eisfeld, and passing his day in a self-created world of musical and artistic splendor,—a habit which left him weaponless in the stern battle with reality which even poets must fight. Like that kindred nature, our Southern American Sidney Lanier, he began as a musician,—and two mediocre operas interested the Duke of Meiningen and resulted in his receiving from that prince an annual stipend for three years, to be used in studying at Leipzig under Mendelssohn. But neither Leipzig nor Mendelssohn satisfied him, and his later life was a series of shuttlecock movements between the metropolis,—now Leipzig, now Dresden, now Meissen,—and village communities which were scarcely able to furnish him more congenial society, and were unwilling to leave him in grateful solitude.

But there is no bitterness in his attitude toward an uncongenial world. His criticisms of Schiller and Hebbel, unjust as they frequently are, are prompted by a sincere belief that they had built on false foundations. His pictures of village life, in the cheerful story "Heiteretei" and elsewhere, are warm with loving amusement at the foibles and drolleries of his peasant neighbors. His ideal protagonist—Apollonius in "Between Heaven and Earth," Juda in "The Maccabees,"—moves quietly on, as the poet himself tries to do, upholding the right as he sees the right, uncomplainingly undoing the evil which others have caused, requiting injuries and insults with generous efforts at proselytism, looking for no reward but the privilege of seeing his work well done.

He was thirty-six years old before that work secured an approach to general recognition. In 1849 he completed his pretentious tragedy "The Forester," and the Dresden manager Emil Devrient presented it to a public which grew wild with enthusiasm and made the author famous in a night. It is hard to see how a critic who could find nothing but error in the plan of Schiller's "fate-tragedies,"—and may we query in passing, was he

justified in stamping them so absolutely as "fate-tragedies"?—could himself have presented a play whose catastrophe is so entirely determined by accidents for which the personages are in no sense responsible. The leading character, the stern and conscientious old forester himself,—Ludwig's heroes are all conscientious to a degree that is pathological,—breaks with his friend and employer, the father of the young man who is engaged to marry his daughter, and refuses to surrender his position to the hunter whom the offended forest-owner has appointed to succeed him. The new forester is shot and killed by a poacher, and both the son of the owner and the son of the old forester are involved in the pursuit of the murderer. The poacher has stolen a gun belonging to one of the young men, which accident leads to a rumor that the two have taken up arms against each other in the quarrel of their fathers. Falsely informed that the lover of his daughter has shot his son, the old man sets out to avenge the murder, and by mistake shoots his own daughter. The crudest and most mechanical accumulation of horrors, one would infer from a bald statement of the plot; but the clearly-drawn picture of the terrible but lovable old man who is stern to his wife and daughter because the public weal demands that women be treated so, and implacable to his enemies because the Bible commands "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," but filled to the very lips with a love for his family which must not be spoken, and as free from hate or resentment as a new-born child,—the picture is remarkable, and even beautiful.

Then, a year or two later, comes the other great play, "The Maccabees," which handles a well-known historical incident, the most famous of Jewish rebellions. It is grandiose and imposing; the dauntless courage and single-hearted devotion of the young leader Juda, the hard, terrible heroism of his mother Lea, who sees her younger sons slain before her eyes rather than retract an iota of the faith of her fathers; and the gentler but no less noble spirit of the misunderstood and mistreated daughter-in-law,—here are three fine characters that claim our attention in turn, and perhaps confuse a little the impression that one strong, central figure, like the forester, for example, might have been able to leave.

But words fail before the mingled majesty and intensity of Apollonius Nettelmair's life history. "Between Heaven and Earth" is no longer a play;—this life-long student of the drama proves himself incomparably greater at epic narrative. No one who has not read this quiet story of a family injustice, which grows slowly into a thrilling tragedy and then dies away into calm restraint again, knows the depths to which a writer of mere fiction can probe the soul. We are reminded of Scott's enthusiastic admission that though he could do things "in a big bow-wow way," Jane Austen could reach the heart as effectively without his pretentious expedients,—except that Jane Austen's most vivid pictures are pale beside this one. Where is the hero so calculated to enlist the reader's sympathy as poor Apollonius himself, cheated out of the possession of the girl he loved by his loud and unscrupulous brother Fritz, passing his youth in exile because he implicitly believes that brother's assurance that his wife cannot endure the sight of her brother-in-law, and, when he discovers at last that he has been miserably tricked, devoting the remainder of his life without a word to saving the broken fortunes of the brother and his family? Where is a study of slow moral lapse equal in delicacy and justice to this view of the jovial Fritz, whose love makes him dishonest, whose first deceit grows to an elaborate system of scoundrelism which becomes a life-work, whose jealousy makes him a sot, a murderer, and, in that scene on the church tower which makes the heart stop beating, a miserable suicide? There are discoveries of mental operations which make the book worthy of a place as a text on psychology,—Fritz, for example, has planned the murder of his successful rival in his wife's affections, and already in his mind's eyes sees him lying dead before him; and not until then, knowing that he must die, does he feel a touch of compassion for him and the wish that he might live. Or recall the scene where Apollonius, feeling himself drawn by a sinful inclination for the wife of another, instinctively pushes his brother's child between himself and his brother's wife.

But the Nemesis is here, as in the "Forester." Here is the "partial responsibility" that critics find in Ludwig's literary aversion, Schiller,—sin mighty punished, and falling with crushing weight on the sinner's innocent associates. A fatality hangs over the "house with the green shutters,"—the inspiration, it must be, of

the grawsome fate-tragedy of that name by the young Scotch novelist George Douglas,—and it is presented to our bodily eyes again and again in the form of a restless spirit that walks when sinners and sinned against lie asleep or unsuspecting.

"Between Heaven and Earth" is the last book of Ludwig's worth mentioning, although he lived and worked industriously,—or as faithfully at least as the physical ailment allowed which made it impossible for him to assume a sitting posture and gradually paralyzed his whole body,—for a dozen years longer. A lover of paradox might successfully maintain the thesis that the greatest English dramatist ruined the career of him who was potentially the greatest German dramatist; the directness of the antithesis is somewhat weakened by the fact that with all his theories and all his labors, Ludwig remained more a story-teller than a playwright. It was on the rock of his admiration for Shakespeare that this super-careful dogmatist and recluse, this most unlike Shakespeare of all his admirers, wrecked his craft. Set Walt Whitman to imitating Pope, or the reverse, and the result can scarcely be happy. A little less honesty, considerably more of independence, and a great deal more of self-assurance, might have given the world other books as powerful as the three for which Ludwig is remembered; but being what he was, he spent the last quarter of his life studying, proving, writing and destroying, undertaking and abandoning, and finished not one long work, good, bad or indifferent.

I have hazarded the suggestion that a little less of honesty might have increased the amount and success of his product; yet our reverence for his memory and our respect for his influence will scarcely allow us to wish for a weakening of his characteristic virtue. There is cheap vulgarity now and then in his master Shakespeare; there is uncandid trifling in Goethe; there is soulless declamation in Schiller; and there are glaring faults in Otto Ludwig, faults that will prevent his ever becoming popular,—but nowhere is there a taint of insincerity, or of bidding for applause. He was single-minded, unswerving earnestness personified.

# On the Enjoyment of Poetry

MAY TOMLINSON

When I try to account for my enjoyment of poetry, to trace the delight to its source, I discover that very often it is nothing more than a subtle suggestion of mystery or remoteness, of contrast or change, that calls forth the pleasurable emotion; I am surprised to find how largely these elements contribute to the fabric called poetry. They are the silver threads in the web, inextricably interwoven, though visible only in shimmer and sheen.

At the poet's query,

*Where lies the land to which yon ship must go?*

a thrill runs through me. Here, it is the awesomeness of mystery and uncertainty that stirs the imagination. Again, I find the charm of the far-removed and the mystical in Keats' magic casements,

*Opening on the foam  
Of perilous seas in faeryland forlorn;*

and in Coleridge's

*Ancestral voices prophesying war;*

and in Wordsworth's magic line:

*The cuckoo straggling up to the hill-tops  
Shouteth faint tidings of some gladder place.*

Than this last, could anything be more spiritual and delicately romantic?

Of the poetic effect secured through a skillful use of contrast, Wordsworth's sonnet to the River Duddon, the one beginning *O Mountain Stream!* affords a good example. The poet's aim is to give an impression of deep solitude. He pictures a desolate wilderness, far from the haunts of men. And through this barren waste the river flows, attended but by its own voice, save where the clouds and fowls of the air its way pursue. Now, the suggestion of life and motion implied in this mention of birds and clouds supplies a touch of contrast, and with this hint of contrast comes a deepening sense of solitude and desolateness.

Again, in the sonnet beginning *Even as a dragon's eye*, the poet makes effective use of contrast, introducing this time a double

contrast, that between what is seen and what is imagined, and that between the two scenes conjured up by his own imagination, one suggested by what appears to the eye, and the other pure fancy, though a picturing of what may actually be. The quick dissolution of the scene from the actual to the imaginary, and from the imaginary to the actual, calls for an activity of the imaginative intellect most gratifying and exhilarating.

That the poet should seize upon this element of contrast and make use of it in his own magical sphere is not surprising, since he beholds it daily as a powerful agency in life itself. In life's experience, the scenes which leave the most lasting impression upon the mind are those which present strong contrast. Sometimes these scenes are of no great moment, but there they remain stored away in the treasure house of the memory never to be entirely forgotten.

One warm November morning, almost as many years ago as I was then years old, I steamed into Galveston harbor. As we floated shoreward, it seemed to us that the very moment of submergence had come, that the sea, even then, was about to glide in level, smooth-flowing tide over the low-lying land. There was, however, no suggestion of tragedy or calamity in the scene, no hint of struggle or resistance; that sinking out of sight seemed a willing surrender of the wave-washed earth. And the picture that presented itself as we neared the dock was but a further expression of this same passive waiting for what was to come. A crowd of lazy, lounging negroes blackened the wharf, lying there as if without life or power of motion. The ship was moored, gang planks were laid, and instantly every limp, motionless figure sprang into action; the dock became a scene of busy activity; the work of unloading had begun. Now, this scene, in itself of no especial import, made a lasting impression, and comes often to mind, even now, after all these years, slipping into sight as suddenly and mysteriously as a stereopticon view comes before the eyes of a child.

I suspect that this element of contrast is a more potent influence in our lives than we realize. I conceive of it as adding immeasurably to the poetry of life. I conceive of it as playing an important part in that marvelous plan of the Creator, that adaptation of the external universe to the individual mind. It appears

in the daily phenomena of nature. The stars shine forth by night and are invisible by day, but they continue forever; though to our sight the sun rises and sets, appears and disappears, we know that it burns unceasingly. These apparent discrepancies keep us humble and full of wonder. Without them, what dull, prosaic creatures we should be, how arrogant and intolerable!

We read that nothing changes but the permanent, that there is continuity even in change, a truth which, when we observe the daily processes of nature, we can easily believe; we perceive then that there is poetry as well as philosophy in the statement. For is there not always something poetic and dream-like in the appearance of sky and atmosphere at the twilight hour? Does not the briefest mention of sunset colors or of the fading light of day stir poetic feeling? Tranquility and serenity suggest repose and permanence, and this thought of permanence, brought sharp against what is actually fleeting, imparts a visionary loveliness to the scene. It was this idea of the permanent in the transitory that called forth Tennyson's praise of Wordsworth's line,

Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns.

The essence of political beauty is something subtle and ethereal, something delicate and elusive, to be found, it may be, in the flight of a bird, in a waft of fragrance or a gleam of sunlight, in a flitting shadow, a smile, a tone, perchance in a single word of a song. And this momentary sensation it is the poet's task to embody and perpetuate. And this beauty, even when thus embodied, comes to us only in flashes of perception and when the spirit is attuned. Since the exercise of the imaginative power can never be long continued, and since the highest pleasure derived from any art product whatsoever must include a sense of unity, that thought or emotion for which the verse form known as the sonnet affords the best vehicle would seem to be the most poetic thought or feeling. Sometimes the fluctuations of the spirit are too elusive to be stayed by any art, too volatile to be caught even as a faint aroma, and too evanescent to be other than mystery. In another world, possessed of a finer intelligence, lifted above all pettiness, and purged of all that is gross, the poet may be able to make real to other minds what now is beyond his power to express. Those "smiles to earth unknown," those "fleeting moods of shadowy exultation," those "idle flitting phan-

tasies," will then be revealed in exquisite embodiment. And this power to give, and this capacity to receive, pleasure may be one of the ecstacies of that heavenly life.

Beauty embodied in the language of words appeals more directly to the intellect than any other form of art expression. The painter speaks to us in the language of lines and colors. His work is addressed to the eye. It may be a purely sensuous appeal. And sculpture, being a medium of expression for beauty of form, also "steals access" through the eye. But, you ask, is not the poet's word addressed to the *ear?* Yes. And I do not forget that species of metrical language—much of Swinburne's verse, for instance—which is nothing more than melodious sound, pleasing to the ear but making no spiritual appeal. When the melody is an outpouring of the inner spirit, taking its color from the inward sympathies, it becomes organic; it is then an inseparable part of the expression. But verse which simply delights the ear, being merely a musical arrangement of words without conveying ideas or voicing moods, is not poetry, since it makes no demand upon the imagination; and the essence of poetical enjoyment, according to Leigh Hunt, consists in a voluntary power to imagine. Now, the more material art of the painter and sculptor need not necessarily call into play this high power, though, unquestionably, that art is the greatest which is itself an expression of the highest faculties of the human mind, and which demands of the beholder a like endowment. Its creator then becomes something more than painter or sculptor—he is poet as well.

The musical capabilities of spoken language have been well tested by the poets. Tennyson's *Lotus Eaters*, as an exhibition of the power of tone to express a mood of mind, has the merit of a musical composition. The reader with senses dulled, finds himself lulled into a state of apathetic content, as if he too had eaten of the fateful fruit, so irresistible is the effect of this wonderful verse. It almost seems to me that a foreigner of fine sensibility and delicate ear, without any knowledge whatever of the language, would, upon hearing this poem intonéd, respond to its mood of dreamy languor. Much of the effect is secured through vowel melody and a melodious fusion of vowels and consonants. This accomplishment implies high cultivation of ear and a choice and arrangement of words, by the aid of the ear, with a consid-

eration of the difficulties of vocal articulation. It must be borne in mind, however, that no exercise of poetic power is ever purely mechanical, even when the results may have a physiological basis.

Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind* is also the expression of a mood, though the two poems are as unlike as two productions could possibly be. Tennyson presents a mood that is altogether impersonal and imaginary. Shelley's ode is intensely personal: it is a revelation, an impassioned cry, an outpouring of the poet's restless, unsatisfied, aspiring soul, with all its yearning for unrealized ideals. His spirit seems wafted on the wings of verse to some holier region, where discordant elements shall be reconciled and where all shall be composed to peace.

The element of color is sometimes a contributing factor, but it never, in and of itself, constitutes the poetic. Even in that marvelous sky spectacle, described by Wordsworth in *The Excursion*, it is not glory of color that moves the imagination. In this passage, the whole poetic effect is secured through a simple suggestion of boundlessness and remoteness. That wilderness of building was self-withdrawn into a *boundless depth*; it was the revealed abode of *spirits in beatitude* that the Solitary saw.

Keats' *Eve of St. Agnes* is remarkable for splendor of color, though the essential charm of the poem does not lie in its color effects, but in its richness of poetic suggestion, such as, for example, that beautiful conception of the binding of the outward senses, where the maiden, wrapped in the oblivion of sleep, is described as

Blinded alike from sunshine and from rain,  
As if a rose should shut and be a bud again.

In this suggestiveness of poetry, there is something magical. Take the lines,

And she shall lean her ear  
In many a secret place  
Where rivulets dance their wayward round,  
And beauty born of murmuring sound  
Shall pass into her face.

It is her *delight* in the murmur of the stream, and her aliveness to all that it suggests, that brings beauty to the maiden's face: the beauty springs from the *delight*. Translated into plain prose

these lines would read: Her face was beautiful with poetic feeling, with love and happiness, as she listened to the music of the brook. Here we have it all, fully expressed, with nothing left to the imagination; and the charm is gone, vanished like the flitting of an invisible presence of which we are aware through other than our bodily senses.

So we find that our pleasure in poetry is derived from various sources,—beauty of thought and depth and sweetness of feeling, melodious flow of verse and perfect adaptation of the verse to the thought or feeling, beauty of imagery, and always that magical suggestiveness. Sometimes, a certain blitheness of spirit constitutes the chief charm, as in *The Green Linnet*, for instance; sometimes a playful grace, as in Tennyson's stanzas addressed to the Rev. F. O. Maurice; sometimes we love a bit of verse simply for its expression of one sweet thought, Wordsworth's *Stepping Westward*, for example, or that little poem *An Incident at Bruges*. Then there are passages that appeal to us for their beauty of truth, of which Wordsworth's description of the pleasures of skating affords a good illustration, or the passage showing how he was "fostered alike by beauty and by fear," or the lines which tell of the boy who "blew mimic hootings to the owls," or the description of the appearances of shepherds beheld by the poet in his youth. And so we might go on multiplying instances from the work of this one poet alone, Wordsworth's poetry seeming to be especially rich in this beauty of truth, though numerous passages might be cited from other poets (see the first seventeen verses of Coleridge's lines *Composed at Clevedon*); the work of our own beloved Whittier is often characterized by this beauty of truth, notably his *Snow Bound*.

As a rule, it is in poetry as in painting, the greater the art, the greater the demand upon the intellectual faculties of him who sees or reads. There are, however, little masterpieces (Holmes' *Chambered Nautilus*, for example) that possess a dewdrop-like excellence, being so simple in conception and so clear in meaning as to require no great exercise of the imagination. Their beauty is apparent and to be enjoyed by every person of intelligence and sensibility. But to feel the power of such a production as Coleridge's *Christabel*, or his *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, the reader must be both capable of intellectual exertion and possessed of an imagi-

native mind, in either case some understanding of the idea of the poem being essential to the enjoyment of the same; though, in the *Rime*, the vivid word-pictures flashed upon the mental vision might hold the reader's interest.

Something should be said of the mood necessary for the complete enjoyment of poetry. First, be it declared (to illustrate by comparison) that the temper of mind with which the lover of poetry approaches the shrine is quite other than that which controls the reader of fiction. The average novel reader is keen for the story; he desires to be entertained; he demands swift action; elaborate description bores him; a leisurely meandering style of narration he has little patience with, even Thackeray's charming digressions seem to him tiresome. He would skim through the pages of a novel as he speeds over the ground in an automobile or shoots through the air in a flying machine.

The reader of poetry, on the other hand, is content with a more leisurely pace. His mood is more that of one who saunters through a wood,

An old place, full of many a lovely brood,  
Tall trees, green arbours, and ground-flowers in flocks.

For the full enjoyment of what is before him, a contemplative frame of mind and a feeling of quiet are necessary. If there is sufficient repose at the outset, the spirit will sink into a deeper peace as the moments pass. This, however, is not the peace of inertness, but an intensity of feeling correspondent with the increased tension of mind.

Through the pleasures of poetry, the soul capable of high ecstasy may know moments of impassioned feeling in hours of solitude. The stay-at-home may explore those "realms of gold" unwearied and unworn. But these pleasures are not alone for the shut-in and the solitary. They are no less for those who have other diversions and who sit in the family circle. The mood favorable to the highest enjoyment of poetry settles only in an atmosphere of leisure and quiet. Here it will brood. Hurry and confusion do not accord with this spirit of calm. Impassioned feeling gathers only in quiet depths. Hilarity does not dwell with the muse, whose song in its lighter strains is playful but never boisterous; graceful and joyous, but rollicking never; always leaning more to sweetness and loveliness than to fun and frolic. The pro-

per atmosphere secured and the muse admitted, care and vexation, worry and distress, even pain and sorrow, will flee away, yielding the hour to peace and joy.

To define exquisitely the nature of poetical enjoyment, I should need the discrimination of a philosopher as well as the poet's power to breathe life into senseless words. To declare that poetry is essentially vital is only to repeat what has been said by others. And Coleridge tells us that "the poet, described in ideal perfection, brings the whole soul of man into activity." His plummet sinks to the deepest depths of man's emotional nature—to those still depths; and the calm that follows is a "gentle, exalted content."

The difference between the pleasure excited by beauty embodied in the language of words and the pleasure called forth by beauty expressed through other mediums is indescribable, a difference that can only be felt. The transcendency of poetry over the other arts is due to its wider sphere and its greater power of suggestion. Milton paints his picture of Eve among the roses in three lines; and sweeter even than this scene, which glows with exquisite color, is Wordsworth's conception of that child of nature who leans her ear, in many a "secret place," to drink the "beauty born of murmuring sound." Then we have that lovely dream-vision of the ship .

Some gentle day  
Sailing in sunshine far away;

and that sweet, tender summer night scene, when the whole earth is flooded with silvery light, and every obscure hiding-place feels the moon's benediction:

The nested wren  
Has thy fair face within her tranquil ken,  
And from beneath a sheltering ivy leaf  
Takes glimpses of thee;

and that delicious bit of color and freshness,—a wide lawn, with a space of heaven above,

Edged round with dark tree-tops, through which a dove  
Would often beat its wings, and often, too,  
A little cloud would move across the blue;

and that shadowy evening scene,

An English home—gray twilight pour'd  
On dewy pastures, dewy trees,  
Softer than sleep—all things in order stor'd,  
A haunt of ancient peace.

I have given these examples of landscape in literature to illustrate the poet's power to paint by suggestion, and his habit of leaving much to the imagination. He not only pictures things as they really are, but he gives a moral life even to the loose stones of the highway. To his eyes, the short-lived foam, down the green back of the ocean wave,

Bursts gradual with a *wayward indolence*.

In a single suggestive word, he can reflect the *spirit* of a place. Thus Shakespeare's

How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank!  
makes us feel all the stillness and peace of the moonlight night; and Wordsworth's "harmonious *pensive changes*" suggests the play of memories overshadowing the spot where the White Doe ranges. The poet can pack a wealth of meaning into a single line:

There is a budding morrow in midnight.

or again:

The marble index of a mind forever  
*Voyaging through strange seas of thought alone*.

He can "make audible in the melody of words shades of feeling and thought that elude the grasp of imagery":

With heart as calm as lakes that sleep  
In frosty moonlight glistening;  
Or mountain rivers, where they creep  
Along a channel smooth and deep,  
To their own far-off murmur listening.

He can shadow forth dim sympathies and passing moods:

The thin blue flame  
Lies on my low-built fire, and quivers not;  
Only that film, which fluttered on the grate,  
Still flutters there, the sole unquiet thing.  
Methinks its motion in this hush of nature  
Gives it dim sympathies with me who live,  
Making it a companionable form,  
Whose puny flaps and freaks the idling Spirit  
By its own moods interprets, everywhere  
Echo or mirror seeking of itself,  
And makes a toy of Thought.

I will not take the space to comment on the various elements of expressiveness employed by the poet further than to say that these various agencies of verse contribute more largely to the reader's pleasure than he is aware of, unless he be a student of poetry with eye and ear alert. He is conscious of the suggestiveness of Shakespeare's line,

And tips with silver all the fruit-tree tops,  
without realizing to what the effect is due. He feels the force of such lines as these:

Saint Francis be my speed! how oft tonight  
Have my old feet stumbled at graves! Who's there?

or these:

And Gareth loosed the stone  
From off his neck, then in the mere beside  
*Tumbled it; oilily bubbled up the mere;*

or these:

*Fled with a Christian! O my ducats!*  
*Justice! the law! my ducats and my daughter!*

or of such a line as this:

*Petulant* she spoke, and at herself she laughed;

or this:

*Wallowing* unwieldy, enormous in their gait,

he feels the force of such lines, though he cannot tell how the effect is secured. To feel, even superficially, is something, but the reader who has looked into the secrets of the art, and discovered that these suggestions of hugeness and unwieldiness, of stumbling and tumbling, of indignant and impulsive feeling, are the result sometimes of a shifting of the regular accent, sometimes of the introduction of an additional light syllable,—knowing that these departures from the standard measure are not arbitrary but spontaneous and organic,—experiences a delight little dreamed of by the uninitiated; his reverence for the poet's art is truly worshipful.

# The Beginnings of the North Carolina City Schools, 1867-1887.

CHARLES L. COON

Wilson, North Carolina

No one can understand the present educational development of North Carolina, unless he knows something of the history of the state from 1867-1887. In many respects this is the most interesting period in all our history. It was a formative period in as true a sense as was the colonial period. It is a period which is hardly yet known to many of this generation. The clash of the elemental passions of hatred, of selfishness, of despair, with ideals of hope, toleration, philanthropy, vision, and all the other ideals of civilization, makes this period one of surpassing interest.

We of this generation have heard strident echoes of the conflicts of that period during our recent political campaigns; we have had dinned in our ears the quarrel words which excited men then; we have been told of the horrors of the Republican party government of that period, not for the purpose of instruction, but to keep us all in the party harness and cause us to vote a straight ticket on election day. And still many of us are vastly ignorant of what really did happen in those days. For the personal side of the reconstruction government of this period I would, however, bring no defense. But the constitution of 1868 came out of that period, a constitution which really for the first time recognized public education in the sense in which we now know it. The school law of 1869 came out of that period. That school law recognized local taxation for the first time in our educational history. This constitution and this school law made at least a four months' school term an obligation on the state, the county, and the township, and they declared that 75 per cent of the poll taxes should be devoted to public education. For the first time in our history we had a state tax levied for educational purposes. For the first time in our history we saw the state recognizing its obligation to educate the black children of the state. It was no small gain to our civilization that the fundamental law and the school statutes of our state declared for all these things. And we must also remember that the very men this generation has been taught to de-

nounce from infancy as only bad, put into the bill of rights of our constitution the following declarations: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," and "The people have a right to the privilege of education, and it is the duty of the state to guard and maintain that right."

And while this period has its dark spots, every right thinking North Carolinian and every child born into our social order must thank God that out of those dark days these educational safeguards of our very life originated.

In a word, public schools for all the people were originated during this period. Apparently, there was little success in the effort. It was a time of party strife; society was greatly disorganized as a result of the Civil War and the activity of self-seeking politicians; the school taxes were imperfectly collected and paid into the treasury; there were no large towns; the flower of the population of the state had been left forever on the battlefields of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania; Congress was threatening to pass a civil rights bill which would destroy separate schools for each race; the sober thought of the people was unable to speak firmly and decidedly in favor of such public schools as the constitution of 1868 provided for; there was much poverty and much aversion to taxes of any kind; there were many who doubted the wisdom of educating those who were so recently slaves; the sparse population and bad roads made such coöperation as was necessary to establish good schools next to impossible; the township system of schools opposed the individualistic small district system in vogue before the Civil War and there were constant attempts to go back to that system; and, finally, the courts were reactionary on the subject of public education by taxation and were always ready to declare that schools were not a necessary expense of government. But out of these discordant times the town schools of North Carolina were born. The story of their birth and their early growth is the most interesting chapter in our educational history.

First, a few words about the educational conditions of the the towns during the first six years of this period, from 1867-1873, conditions which put the thinking people of the towns to work to establish better school facilities.

In 1868, Raleigh had only 275 white children out of 600 in school attendance. Dr. Barnas Sears, the General Agent of the Peabody Board, says the remaining 325 were being "wholly neglected." Out of the 800 or 900 negro children more than 700 were said to be in school. In New Bern only 210 white children out of 500 or 600 were in school. In Charlotte, not more than 250 out of 650 white children and not more than 150 out of 350 negro children were in school attendance. In 1869, Dr. Sears speaks of the "general want of the means of education" at Wilmington. In 1870, the same authority says that "there are nearly 1000 white children who should be in school," in New Bern, and that not half of them attend any school. The same year the "schools of Salisbury were reported as suspended," while it was said that "the attempts made to induce Raleigh to provide public schools have not yet been successful." In 1872, Dr. Sears says that the public school for white children in Washington had enrolled 132 children and the colored school 451. The next year this white school was reported at one time to have 240 pupils. And everywhere the records show that a large proportion of the white and black children of the larger and the smaller towns were growing up in ignorance, without decent and adequate school facilities.

But the towns were not content with these poor educational conditions. As early as 1868 the Peabody Board promised Wilmington \$1500 if the citizens would contribute \$3000 to maintain public schools. So much could not be raised and the amounts had to be reduced. At the same time New Bern accepted an offer of \$1000 from the same source and promised to raise \$2500 for its public schools. Similar offers were made, though in smaller sums and requiring smaller sums to be raised locally, to Greensboro, Charlotte, Salisbury, and Fayetteville. Dr. Sears said in his 1868 report that Salisbury had recently raised \$1000 by a tax and was soon going to enlarge its school building and expected \$700 from the Peabody Board to aid in support of its public school.

But Wilmington found that it could not raise \$3000 so as to secure the \$1500 promised by the Peabody Board for the year 1868-69. However, two well-graded free schools with 300 pupils were supported during that year by subscription, in charge

of Miss Amy B. Bradley and six teachers. Before the beginning of the school year, 1869-70, the citizens of Wilmington raised by subscription \$2000, and were promised the \$1500 additional from the Peabody Fund to maintain free schools for all the white children of Wilmington. During the next year Wilmington raised by voluntary contributions more than \$7500 for the support of its schools, and was again aided by the Peabody Fund to the extent of \$1500.

In 1870, the New Bern Academy, by resolution of its board of trustees, was opened as a free public school to all white children of that town between the ages of six and twenty-one. Up to this time New Bern had not carried out its agreement made in 1868 with the Peabody Board, and, of course, had received no aid from that source. Now the Peabody Board proposed to give \$1000 on account of the action of the Academy trustees.

During 1870 Dr. Sears says he received an application from Charlotte "for assistance in maintaining a charity school." In reply he suggested a local tax and a public school for all, and proposed to assist such a school.

In 1871, the Peabody Board agreed to give Fayetteville \$1000 for that year in support of free schools with an attendance of not less than 550 pupils. A similar offer was made to Washington to give \$600 for a white school of over 100 pupils and a colored school of over 300 for ten months. It seems both Fayetteville and Washington had public schools in accordance with these agreements during 1871-2. In his report for 1871, Dr. Sears says that "the city of Wilmington has at length assumed the support and control of the free schools, which have hitherto been sustained by private contributions." A new agreement for one year was now entered into with Wilmington by which the city was to raise \$1000 by taxes and get \$1000 from the Peabody Board and raise \$500 additional for a ten months' school term. The New Bern Academy still continued to be conducted as a free school and again received \$1000 for the year from the Peabody Board.

In the Peabody report for 1872, mention is made of aid given the public schools of Wilmington, Washington, and New Bern. The New Bern Academy trustees wrote the Peabody agent on February 10, 1872, that their public school by the Peabody aid

had been able to maintain a first-class position and that "all opposition has been overcome, and partisan private schools have been compelled to succumb to the generous provisions we have been enabled to make for all who chose to take advantage of them."

In 1873, Washington reported that "the number of pupils in our school is 240. They are divided into three grades, and are instructed by five teachers. The amount subscribed by citizens is \$800, and that derived from the public fund is \$785." On February 22, 1873, the chairman of the school committee of Wilmington wrote Dr. Sears as follows: "By the recent action of the County Board of Education and the Board of Aldermen, the free schools of Wilmington have been made city free schools. A school committee of five and a superintendent have been appointed. The city authorities have been requested to levy a tax to meet the deficiencies of the State and county tax for schools in the city. There is an increasing attendance, amounting now to about 1000. We flatter ourselves that the start now taken in Wilmington will, in time, extend to every part of the State." Then Dr. Sears adds: "In a subsequent letter I was informed that the city tax had been pronounced illegal. Thus it seems that a city that is willing and anxious to tax itself for a good system of graded schools is prevented from doing it by the law of the State. The same is true in regard to Raleigh, which applied to the General Assembly, at its last session, for authority to raise money for free schools by popular vote, and the application failed because that body considered such authority unsafe." But it has never been illegal in this good state for a town or city to expend tax money to prevent pigs from running at large on its streets, yet it long remained illegal and unconstitutional in our past municipal history for a town to provide that its children be put in school and taken off the streets, out of the company of pigs! Thanks to our highest courts which in these formative times construed our constitution and our statutes not in the interest of civilization but in the interest of property, not according to the general welfare but according to tradition and precedent and the letter which killeth!

And so it came about that no North Carolina city school was established without a fierce struggle. Of course, the small Pea-

body aid, supplemented by the small general funds and the uncertain private subscriptions, could not firmly establish the town graded schools. Other means had to be resorted to. Taxation of all the people for the education of all the children was the only principle which could be invoked to establish these schools on a firm basis.

I have referred to the fact that Wilmington tried to levy a school tax in February, 1873, and that it was declared illegal. It was not illegal to levy a tax to build streets, but it was illegal to use any city tax money to build mind and character. You will also remember that Raleigh asked in 1873 to be permitted to raise money for schools by a popular vote but that the legislature said that such authority would be unsafe. Think of it! The legislature of a free state saying that it would be unsafe to give the people of Raleigh township the right to vote an extra tax for the education of its own children!

The reason Raleigh township asked for such a special law was because the school law of 1869 had provided for a township local school tax, and our Supreme Court at the January term, 1871, in the case of Lane vs. Stanley, had declared that a township could not legally levy a local school tax because schools were not a necessary township expense and also because the public schools were not intended by the constitution of 1868 to be a local but a general state affair; that schools must not be left to the varying whims of the people of the several townships!

But the more intelligent leaders of the more progressive communities saw they must have better schools than those provided by the state system. Greensboro and Charlotte took steps in 1875 to provide legal ways and means to establish better public schools. Greensboro had its charter amended so as to provide a local tax for schools. Whether this provision of the charter was ever submitted to a popular vote, I do not know. But the local school tax was levied, and graded schools, the first of the kind in the state, were established on a permanent taxation basis. Charlotte obtained a special act of the General Assembly of 1875, authorizing the voting of a local tax of 25 cents on property of \$100 valuation and 75 cents on each poll, along with provisions creating the school commissioners of the city of Charlotte and giving them entire management of the local schools. This special

school law, with slight variations, is still the school law of the city of Charlotte. But the passage of this law did not establish the graded schools of Charlotte. A long, bitter fight of nearly six years resulted, typical of what has occurred in many other North Carolina towns. At the time this law was enacted Charlotte had two influential newspapers—the *Weekly Democrat* with W. J. Yates in charge, and the *Daily Observer* under the editorial management of Charles R. Jones. These papers took opposite sides in the graded school contest.

The *Democrat* opened up against the law on April 5, 1875, fourteen days after its passage, in the following characteristic manner: "We think the Act of the Legislature in regard to Public Schools in this city will be very oppressive to tax payers if carried out, without conferring much benefit upon white children. Before any white man or tax payer in any ward signs a petition for enforcing the law he had better read it and consider what the consequences will be. We are in favor of aiding the education of the poor white children, but we protest against the law lately adopted by the Legislature as unjust and unfair. We think tax-payers and property owners have some rights that ought to be respected." On July 24, 1876, the *Democrat* tried to inject the issue of ward schools in the campaign. On August 10, 1877, the same paper, although the local school tax had once been defeated, sneeringly said: "Of course, the tax will be voted, as a large majority of the voters pay but very little if any tax, and are not bothered with scruples about increasing taxes even if times are hard and some city property is being sold for taxes." On September 7, 1877, the *Democrat*, in speaking of the result of the second election on the school tax, said: "The election passed off very quietly, very little interest being taken in it, and consequently a small vote was polled." In its next issue the *Democrat* laconically announced that the "school scheme failed because a majority of the qualified voters of the city failed to vote for it," and added that no additional funds were needed because there was then \$372.95 in the school treasury of the township unused, from the previous year's general apportionment. In this same issue of the *Democrat*, September 14, 1877, a writer who signed "Progress" to his article said that "the negroes generally refused to vote owing to the misrepresentations made to them that their present

schools and colored teachers would all be abolished. The vote was generally cast by intelligent property holders and tax-payers. It is vexatiously slow to bring up ignorance to advocate the education of the masses by taxation—approved by all the intelligent world around us."

Again in 1878, the local school tax for Charlotte was defeated for the third time, because the measure did not secure a majority of the registered voters. In the city election of 1880, the *Observer* and the friends of the local school tax made the tax one of the issues of the campaign. It was shown by the friends of the local school tax that Charlotte had 2247 children who ought to have been in school, while only about 400 were actually enrolled in any school in February, 1880. The *Observer* also showed that the extra tax would be "spent at home and not in New York," it showed that the local tax would not be a poor man's measure. "Progress" brought out the fact that more than 20 years before the city of Charlotte had issued bonds for the erection of a female institute and a military academy to which higher schools but few children could go, and now called on the people to give the smaller children the opportunity of a good school. Another newspaper writer brought out the fact that, if Charlotte did not offer as good school facilities as Atlanta and Richmond, she could not hope to attract new-comers. "Modern Progression" showed that the opponents of the tax were "canvassing quietly and trying to induce the voters to remain away from the polls on election day with a hope to defeat the measure. They are represented as using every imaginable means to gain their ends." A few days before the election on June 7, 1880, ward meetings were held by the friends of better schools and a large public meeting on Independence Square. When the votes were counted, the local school tax had only 815 out of 1662 names on the registration books, and it looked like the tax was defeated a fourth time. The *Observer* was chagrined and said so. But the friends of the tax found that 120 names on the registration books appeared there without legal warrant, and they "purged" the books of those illegal names and declared the election carried in favor of the tax. Then the opponents of the schools went into the courts with an injunction to prevent the collection of the special tax. Judge Seymour, of the Superior Court, sustained the tax and the case went to the

Supreme Court. This case is known as W. S. Norment and others vs. the City of Charlotte, and was finally adjudicated in favor of the city at the September, 1881, term of that court. The *Observer*, of January 5, 1882, announced the final decision of the matter, and there was much rejoicing on the part of the friends of the schools, who had fought for more than five years for the better education of all the children of the city.

While Charlotte was thus engaged in its long battle for better schools, Raleigh township had secured, after much opposition in the legislature of 1877, a special act to permit it to levy a tax of 10 cents on each \$100 valuation of property and 30 cents on each poll. This special act was approved by a vote of the township without much opposition, and its graded schools begun in 1876 were firmly established before Charlotte voted favorably for its local tax in the summer of 1880. The interesting thing about the establishment of the Raleigh township graded schools centers around the passage of the act in the legislature known as chapter 285 of the laws of 1877 and euphoniously entitled "An act to authorize townships having within their limits cities of five thousand and inhabitants and upwards to levy taxes for the support of graded public schools." This act excepted New Bern, Wilmington, Goldsboro, and Charlotte from its provisions but included Fayetteville and Cross Creek township. The act conferred only the right of levying a local school tax and contained none of the provisions of the Charlotte act of 1875. During the passage of this bill in the House "Mr. Kenan moved to lay the whole matter on the table. Mr. Morris offered an amendment to make the bill apply to all counties without regard to population," which was lost. "Mr. Rose moved to indefinitely postpone the consideration of the bill, which did not prevail." Then, "Mr. Todd of Ashe submitted an amendment to strike out 'city of 5000 inhabitants' and insert 'town or city,' which amendment was lost." Finally, "Mr. Shotwell submitted an amendment to provide that the tax so levied shall not exceed \$15000." This amendment was also lost and the bill passed the House by a vote of 59 ayes to 10 noes. In the Senate, "Mr. Finger, chairman of the committee on education, offered a substitute for the bill." An amendment was offered by Mr. Wynne to make the tax 12½ cents instead of ten cents, because, he said, the Raleigh schools could not be kept up

with a smaller tax. "Messrs. Dortch, Nicholson, Stickney, Finger and Latham opposed the amendment" and it failed. Then, Mr. Moore, of New Hanover, tried to make the bill apply to the whole state but without success. The Senate passed the substitute bill by a vote of 36 ayes to 2 noes.

During the passage of the bill through the legislature the Raleigh *Observer* said that it was opposed to "vesting the power of unlimited taxation in the hands of those who are not taxpayers," and declared that Capt. Shotwell's amendment to limit the taxation to \$15000 ought to have been adopted. The *Observer* also said: "we do not hesitate to say that we fear to place in the hands of a non-tax-paying negro constituency, or in the hands of officials elected by a non-tax-paying negro constituency, the power to levy without limit money to purchase building sites and to erect buildings thereon." The *Observer's* "arguments" came near putting the bill to sleep, so near that a few days before the end of the legislative session it asked: "What has become of the Graded School Bill?" It now took some skillful lobbying to get the matter before the Senate and get the bill finally passed.

Goldsboro township was the next community to attempt to vote a local school tax. It obtained a permissive act from the special session of the legislature of 1880. A tax of 20 cents on each \$100 valuation and 60 cents on each poll was authorized by this act, white taxes to go to the support of white schools and negro taxes to the support of negro schools, the schools of each race to be conducted by separate boards.

This was the first time a North Carolina law, permitting the division of school taxes on the race basis was enacted. It was hoped by some of the friends of better schools that such a measure would make the voting of special school taxes much easier. So from 1880 to 1885 we find a number of towns securing such permissive legislation as would permit a race division of local school taxes.

When the people of Goldsboro township first voted on such a local tax, early in May, 1880, the measure failed because the poor white people and the ignorant negroes united to defeat the higher taxes.

In the spring of 1881 Goldsboro township secured another permissive act from the regular session of the General Assembly.

The main features of this new act were identical with those of the act of 1880. A strenuous campaign was conducted by Julius A. Bonitz, the editor of the Goldsboro *Messenger*. Mr. Bonitz boldly showed up the fearful ignorance of the community and declared that Goldsboro was then three centuries behind many other communities in the matter of schools; he also said that the establishment of graded schools "would herald a new dawn of prosperity for Goldsboro;" he boldly spoke in favor of the education of all classes together in public schools and urged every voter, from patriotic motives, to support the additional school tax. His appeals were successful, and the tax was approved the first Monday in May, 1881, by a vote of 599 out of a registration of 941.

The success of Mr. Bonitz and other friends of the school tax resulted in bringing to North Carolina Mr. E. P. Moses, as superintendent of the Goldsboro Graded School. He had already attained success in the Knoxville Schools, and he soon organized the Goldsboro School and made it a great success. Superintendent Moses was an enthusiastic teacher, and he was the direct inspiration which put McIver, Alderman, Joyner and others into the ranks of the school men. In any discussion of the origin of our city schools the name of E. P. Moses must have an honored place.

Before the end of the year 1886, Durham, Wilson, and a few other towns had established graded schools, with the special taxes to be divided on the race basis, but not without a fierce struggle in each case between the forces opposed to higher taxes and those in favor of better schools. Even though this new scheme to avoid "educating negroes over-much" was devised to smooth the path to the heart of the white tax-payer, the white tax-payer did not respond with alacrity to the scheme, for graded schools still increased his taxes, even though none of the increase was used to educate the negro children.

There remains one more epoch-making event to note in the history of the beginnings of our city schools. The legislature of 1883 generally recognized the utility of race division of local school taxes and authorized by a general statute any school district in the state to vote local taxes for schools on that basis. Dallas school district soon voted such a local tax. Those opposed to the tax brought suit to restrain its collection on con-

stitutional and other grounds. The lower court sustained the validity of the tax, but the Supreme Court, in 1886, held that a school tax levied on the property of the white race and not on the property of the other race in the same district was contrary to that section of our constitution which declares that there shall be no discrimination between the races in providing public school facilities. Wilson, Kinston, and other towns abandoned their white graded schools rather than support schools for their negro children. But the white people of those towns soon saw the folly of starving their own children in order to starve negro children and re-established their schools, making provision for negro children at the same time.

Since this epoch-making decision of our highest court in the interest of fair dealing and humanity, we have made great educational progress, and not a little of that progress has been due to those North Carolina towns which did the pioneer work of showing others the way to educational salvation.

There has been some controversy over whether Greensboro or Charlotte established the first North Carolina city graded school. But, so far as I am able to find out, neither one of the two claimants has any real right to this honor. The Charlotte *Observer* of October 14, 1873, said that it was glad to note the fact that the Charlotte township school committee were taking steps to establish city graded schools and added that Rev. J. B. Boone, one of the committee, was leaving that morning for Richmond "to obtain certain information in regard to the class of schools which it is proposed to put in operation in Charlotte." On October 30th, 1873, the *Observer* said that the city public schools would open that morning, under the superintendence of Rev. J. B. Boone. On November 2, 1873, the same paper stated that "120 pupils have entered the graded school." On January 27, 1874, it was said that 216 pupils were in regular attendance. On March 18, 1874, the *Observer* said that Mr. Boone had received \$600 from the Peabody Fund. The only other funds which this school had were county funds apportioned to the district. From all the evidence I can gather, this Charlotte Graded School did not differ in any important respect from the "two well-graded free schools," of Wilmington, under the superintendence of Miss Bradley, during the school year of 1868-9, or from

the other public schools aided by the Peabody Board maintained from 1869-1873 in Wilmington, Washington, New Bern, and Fayetteville. But even if this were not so, the matter seems to me to be settled by the pamphlet issued by Superintendent H. B. Blake, giving an account of the New Hanover public schools for 1873-4. In describing the schools of Wilmington, Superintendent Blake says: "The Public Schools of the City are maintained for eight months, beginning this year on the 13th of October, 1873, and closing on the 5th of June, 1874.

"There are three grades, Primary, Intermediate, and Grammar Schools."

This report further sets forth the work of the different grades in the city schools of Wilmington, from primary reading to geometry and the like.

Thus it will be seen that on the day before the Rev. Mr. Boone took the train at Charlotte to go to Richmond to get information about graded schools the Wilmington Graded School began its fall session. The preliminary steps to establish the Wilmington Graded School were taken in February, 1873, long before there is any record that Charlotte was contemplating the establishment of such a school. In fact, the Wilmington school authorities hoped the action they took in February, 1873, would lead other towns to take similar action.

## Flower de Hundred

N. P. DUNN

One cannot live beside a big, tidal river without coming to think of it as a sentient creature—a creature of a thousand moods, beautiful, baffling. My river can be as cruel as the sea, with a lashing, stinging fierceness, grey and terrible in the grasp of an eastern storm; or it can mimic some calm lake and take the setting sun to its bosom with never a ripple on his blood-red path. For three hundred years, now, the white man has stood beside this stream. He has never learned all its secrets, he has never seen all its phases, but for him its tides have come to be as the very pulses of his own being. They change with every hour the look of bluff and rock and sand—so they mark for him the restless flight of time which makes him subtly different from himself.

Beside my river lies an old Virginia home, where still a spark of life is sometimes kindled when the children's children of its early owners—to the seventh generation—come back to walk for a while on soil of which they feel themselves indeed a part. Then the old house is opened up, the faithful caretaker unites to other duties the task of cooking for the family, the barn yields up corn which comes back from the mill a different commodity from the meal of commerce. The river gives its shad, dripping as it disappears into the kitchen, and an occasional sturgeon can sometimes be got, to remind us of a time (it was as long ago as 1610) when the London Company put that delicacy on its "list of articles wanted in England" and added "Rowes of the said Sturgeon make Cavearie worth £40 per 100 pounds." The unique properties of these Virginia "Rowes" perhaps suggested Shakespeare's simile. Today sturgeon-roe brings a good price on any James river wharf. It goes to Russia *via* New York and is said to return later in small and expensive tins covered with mysterious foreign labels.

The garden, a survival, with its magnolia tree in the centre, is intersected by two broad walks. On each side of these are borders of roses which in May hold a carnival of color and perfume. Peonies, seringas, star-jessamine bloom there, too, while lavender and bay call up pictures of many a gentle lady whose custom

it was to walk there long ago. Wild strawberries furnish a feast fit for a king and even the pepper has a special spiciness, pounded as it is in an ancient mortar with a pestle as old as itself. The shore provides a driveway of hard sand bordered by the changing tide on one hand and the bluff on the other, where each season brings its own wealth of growing things. June provides a panoply of red lilies—the trumpet-vine runs riot in the trees, the hawthorn has its day, and always the ferns are there, sometimes hushed and prone in winter stillness, but ready for their sure resurrection. In the swamps, cypress trees rear giant trunks from black waters, their roots like myriads of weird stalagmites.

In the woods oaks and pines and beech trees tell of years of solitude undisturbed. Here the flowers keep their yearly trysts and the ferns live always in the same communities. A certain black pool will one day in May be sure to have its fringe of Jack-in-the-pulpit, another is guarded by its phalanx of sensitive fern, only marked in winter by brown fertile fronds, standing like sentinels beside the preëmpted spot. A hillside which slopes to the river where it is joined by Flower de Hundred creek has in due season its carpet of amaryllis, and throughout this wondrous forest the pink moccasin flower stands out from a ground-work of oak leaves and pine needles, challenging the whole race of orchids to show a lovelier bloom.

The eagle still finds solitude here and the deer a sanctuary. It is possible to see a pair of these wild creatures browsing in a certain wood and always, in the glen which leads to the upper swamp, can be traced their dainty hoof-tracks—it is their way to the river.

The first map of Virginia, made by Tindall in 1608 and preserved in the British Museum, gives clearly the conformation of the old plantation. It was then the site of the Indian village of Weynagh or Weyanoke. Here an interesting Indian mound was opened some years ago. The tract of 1000 acres on the south side of James River, twelve miles below its confluence with the Appomattox, was granted to Sir George Yeardley prior to 1619. Yeardley's descent has been traced to one John Yeardley who was born in Staffordshire in 1402. He was born between 1577 and 1580, became a member of the London Company when its second charter was granted by James I in 1609, and is enrolled as George

Yeadley, gentleman. Prior to this time he had seen much service in Holland. He sailed at once for Virginia and "beside a great deal of worth in his person, brought only his sword with him." He became a member of the Council and when Governor Dale returned to England, sailing with Rolfe and Pocahontas in 1616, he left "Mr. George Yeadley" in his place as deputy governor.

Argall came over as governor in 1617 and Yeadley returned to England, where he was chosen governor for three years and was knighted at Newmarket by the King. Report has it that he spent £3,000 in fitting himself out "in extraordinary bravery" for his return to America.

He immediately convened the assembly, and this body went into session July 30th, 1619, a year before the Mayflower sailed from England. Two of its members came from Yeadley's plantation, John Jefferson and Edmund Rossingham, his nephew. The place is then for the first time mentioned as Flowerdieu Hundred. Yeadley's administration was marked by many successes, but his "meek and gentle nature" was unfitted to cope with the unscrupulous factions about him and, declining reappointment, he seems to have been glad to retire in 1621 to the less responsible post of member of the Council.

At this time he built on the place the first windmill in North America. Governor Wyat and the Council, writing to the Company say "The good example of Sr George Yeadley, by whom a windmill hath been allready built we hope be great encouragement to others in a matter of soe greate and generall use." The mill must have stood well down on the charming promontory which has ever since been known as Windmill Point, but today the level field touches the silent swamp and neither speaks of a bustling, far-off day when an old industry was started in a new world by a man who "bred in that University of Warre, the Low Countries" must have learned there also a lesson of peace. This mill is mentioned in the deed of sale executed by Yeadley in 1624, but I find no subsequent notice of it. In 1620 there had come to our shores that fateful Dutch ship of sinister fame which landed in Virginia her cargo of twenty-two slaves. Eleven of these, ten men and one woman, were placed at once at Flower de Hundred. Here when the Indian Massacre occurred these black folk, stir-

ring perhaps some feeling of kinship in the breasts of the savages, were all spared. Six of the whites were murdered. After the massacre, many plantations were quitted to concentrate the people in the best and most defensible places.

Flower de Hundred was one of the five or six chosen. About this time Butler in his *Unmasked Face of Virginia* said that there was but one piece of ordnance at Flower de Hundred and it not serviceable. He was answered by a statement of the General Assembly that there were six and that he (Butler) was never there but "reporteth the unseen". Yeardley manned a party to avenge the massacre; he "freely employed his own shipping, shallops, mariners and servants without any recompense or freight at all."

It is not very clear under what circumstances and on what terms settlers in those days came to live at the different "hundreds". Probably Sir George and Lady Temperance his wife spent little or no time at Flower de Hundred, his duties keeping him in Jamestown; besides this he owned several other large plantations. One T. Watts is quaintly dubbed a "dweller at Flower-dieu Hundred" and is only one of many individuals mentioned from time to time in connection with the place. In 1624 Yeardley sold the plantation and the opposite place, Weyanoke, to Abraham Piersey, "cape merchant" and the richest man in the colony. The cape-merchant was the Company's chief factor, receiving all imports and selling the same. The deed, conveying Flower de Hundred to old Piersey, exists in a fragmentary condition. It can with reasonable certainty be said to be the oldest instrument of the kind in America, bearing date of October 5th, 1624. This indenture, "sealed, subscribed and delivered in ye presents of us Clem. Dilke, Sam. Sharp, Humphrey Roote, Wm. Allen and Greavell Pooly cleric (clericus)", is an interesting bit of parchment.

Of the witnesses three were members of the Assembly. Rev. Greavell Pooly was Piersey's "well-beloved friend" and a picturesque figure by reason of his unfortunate love affair. The widow Jordan to whom he was engaged preferring the attentions of the lawyer Ferrar, Pooly instituted a breach of promise suit. So delicate a question, the first to arise in the new world, was referred for settlement to the mother country and the widow married—Ferrar.

Yeardley served the country as deputy governor in 1625. The London Company was now a thing of the past. Virginia had become "the first royal province in America". He was made governor again April 19th, 1626, and died in November, 1627. His wife, Temperance West, had come to America in the *Falcon* in 1609 and died shortly after her husband. Not long ago the excavations undertaken on the site of the old Jamestown church disclosed a tombstone which can be none other than Yeardley's. Plainly it was once decorated with elaborate brasses—not a trace of metal remains, but the design of a knight in armour is distinctly seen, and no other knighted governor died in Virginia. The outlines of the foundation walls were unearthed and many interesting tombs discovered. Here where the ruined tower of the church stands guard one could wish that the hand of the modern might have been stayed, but a building has now risen on this sacred spot to meet some twentieth century sense of fitness.

"At a court held at James City, November 16th, 1627, Lady Temperance Yeardley came and confirmed the conveyance made by her late husband, Sir George Yeardley, Knight, late Governor, to Abraham Percy, Esq., for the lands of Flowerdieu Hundred, being 1,000 acres, and of Weanoke on the opposite side of the water, being 2,200 acres." Piersey died in 1634, leaving Flower de Hundred to his daughter, Mrs. Stevens. She had it repatedent to establish the title in 1636. The old attested copy of this new grant is still in existence, and is interesting in that its description of the metes and bounds of the place coincides with its extent today, while it calls for the 1,000 acres of land granted to Yeardley and sold by him to her father, and thus leaves no doubt that the land taken up by the former was never surveyed but lay amid natural boundaries and as a matter of fact contained upwards of 2,000 acres. The old "more or less" in this case seems to have been twice as much. Mrs. Stevens, now Lady Hervey, sold Flower de Hundred to William Barker, Mariner, who already with his partners, Quincy, Sadler, their associates, and Company, had received large grants of land in the neighborhood.

Barker died, leaving his son his heir. On the death of the son it was divided between the daughters, two in number, and a quaint old paper gives the method of apportionment. "A person well skilled in Surveying did with the moste equally indifferency

and conveniency laye out the said tract of land called Flower due Hundred into two shares." Then "two paper balls were made and framed, in one of which was written those words (the Uppermost Part) and in the other was written those words (the Lowermost Part)." Being "soe made and framed they were put into the crown of a hatt . . . . . and should be one after the other drawn by a young childe." This division (let us hope it gave satisfaction) was effected in 1673. The act of 1680, passed with the hope of encouraging the building of towns, named Flower de Hundred as one of the nineteen proposed sites. This legislature looked to the improving of trades and crafts then so neglected for the cultivation and over-production of tobacco. Here as elsewhere the will of a lawmaker failed to produce a town, that aggregation of human units which accomplishes itself where and when it pleases and brooks no dictation and is its own mysterious law. However, the "Town Landes" were laid out on a choice part of the plantation and were mentioned in subsequent deeds to the property. Part of the place coming to the grandson of old Barker, one John Taylor, was left by him in 1709 to his daughters, one of whom, Elizabeth Duke, sold her portion to Joshua Poythress in 1732.

He had acquired another part of the place, in 1725, from another heir. Thus after four generations of ownership by Barker and his descendants the plantation now became the property of the family who still call it home. Under the care of Joshua Poythress the old plantation blossomed like a rose. His will, made in 1739, leaves the place to his sons, Joshua and William. Joshua the second bequeathed it to his only child, a daughter, who married in 1804 John V. Willcox of Fortune's Fork on the other side of the river. The old brick homestead overlooking the river having been burned, this orphaned daughter had made her home with a cousin at quaint old Appomattox where, during the Civil War, Lincoln was to come to hold conclave with General Grant. After her marriage she lived in Petersburg, but the plantation was brought under perfect cultivation, and about this time her husband built for his convenience, when he came to direct the farm, three rooms of the present, old, white, frame house, which today rambles on across the yard in a way that would surprise the original builder.

A son, coming to live at the place in 1842 added three more rooms, a grandson built another, a granddaughter still another, till today it is a delightful, inconsequent collection of apartments with seven outside doors and as many little porches.

When war broke over the land in 1861 it found nowhere, I suppose, a more peaceful spot than Flower de Hundred upon which to work its will. The plantation had its hundred and seventy-five slaves, settled in three or four well situated and airy "quarters," its private wharf where great grain ships came empty and went away full, its barns and store houses. It salted its own herring and pork, grew its own sheep whose wool furnished cloth which was spun, cut, and made into wearing apparel by a special corps of trained hands. In short, it was a world in itself like many another James River farm which was never again to know such prosperity.

The first war experience of the place was the burning of its new wharf in the spring of 1862, by order of the Confederate Government, to discourage the landing of the enemy on the south side of the river. The troopers sent to execute the order made quick work of the structure. The smoke of pine and cypress was Flower de Hundred's "first incense to the god of war." About this time a number of unexploded shells, aimed at a gun-boat in the stream, descended upon the place from Stuart's battery during his famous march around McClellan. They are now gathered in a group upon the lawn.

In June of 1864 General Grant arrived at River Edge, a point on the north bank of the James, and began his famous crossing of the stream, 130,000 strong. The landing was effected on Windmill Point. This feat, accomplished in two days under a brilliant sky in floods of sunshine, was a glorious sight as described by Grant's generals—the overcoming of natural forces by the great machine of war. But to the gentle mistress of the farm, alone with her aged mother and a few faithful servants, the picture had its reverse side. She watched the tramping through "some promising cornfields", the bivouac about her house, the farm covered with soldiers, tents, batteries, horses, and wagons. When the soldiers went away there were floors torn up and wanton gashes in the mahogany stair-rail, marble hearths broken, and the memory of one trooper disappearing up the road

decked in the bridal veil and orange blossoms of a newly-married daughter of the house. Long afterwards the broken marble was gathered up as a sacred relic and became a hearth again—this time a mosaic.

Life at the old home under the new conditions became inexpedient. The labor problem is not a factor in the county; it was solved long ago by the disappearance of the laborer.

There has been discussion as to the origin of the name of the old plantation. The probable, if prosaic, explanation is that, for some reason, it received the name of old Flowerdieu, the London land agent. The first spelling in 1619 is Flowerdieu Hundred. Next comes Flowerdew in 1636. Other spellings obtain: Flowerdewe, Flowerdee, and even Florida, manifestly the vagaries of as many clerks. However, in 1649 we find it written Flower de Hundred. So the corruption, if corruption it be, is almost as old as the place itself.

Whatever its origin or meaning, something in its pleasing sound has attracted the southern story-teller, and in at least three of our colonial and *ante bellum* tales its name and fame have been enshrined.

Slowly but surely nature has put out her hand to claim the land—except that small part which the vigilance of a few faithful ones will not yet relinquish. Six miles of water-front and a land-boundary “somewhere up in the woods” enclose the sleeping acres.

“The place is silent and aware  
It has had its scenes, its joys, and crimes,  
But that is its own affair.”

## The Function of the College

DAVID MARTIN KEY

A college education is an expensive business. From Valparaiso upwards, it takes a good bit of money and of time. And the undergraduate betrays an exquisite inability to appreciate how much. Two thousand dollars would be a low average for the money cost. What this means of saving and self-sacrifice on the part of the parents, is seldom realized by the lad who is passing through the process of being educated. The folks may be on Easy Street now. Father's coat sleeve may not be shiny. Mother may have all the help she needs, and they may meet Son at the station with the new car when he comes home for the Christmas holidays. But there was a period of which he knows nothing—a period of unremitting toil, scrupulous thrift, and anxious planning that preceded and made possible this easy-going plenty. He cannot remember the lean years when his parents staked the promise of their youth upon the Boy. Yet in many a case, if he is not actually spending all that his parents can make beyond their narrowest present needs, he is enjoying, as they have become incapable of doing, the investment of their unreturning youth. He is quite as incapable of appreciating the value of this putative two thousand dollars as an investment. Wisely and fortunately laid out in some rapidly developing section of our country, it may easily, in the next ten or fifteen years, amount to twenty or thirty thousand dollars.

And the time! "The days of man's years are three score and ten years." So said the Psalmist of old. But the average expectation of life now, according to the insurance companies, is about forty years. If that is so, nearly half of the time during which the student can confidently expect to engage in activities on earth has already been used up before he enters college. Twenty years or so remain. The four college years will constitute one-fifth or one-sixth of his remaining capital of time. Four years! Why, the Civil War was fought in as little time as that. Fortunes have been made, maidens have been won, and empires lost in less. Four years of youth, of that for which men pine! Four

golden years of possibility and of exuberant life! The primrose path! The exquisite mantling of the liquor of manhood!

Can one afford to invest this money and this time in an absolutely non-productive material? Not unless this period is going to have a peculiarly vivifying and fructifying influence on the remainder of life. Not, in this hard-headed and calculating time, unless one can see very definite effects in after-efficiency and result-getting power.

The most obvious product of the college course is a certain amount of systematized knowledge. Time was when, within the bounds of the civilized world, and for the space of two thousand years, the body of that knowledge was essentially the same. Then was there a vast fellowship of educated men. From Timbuctoo to the Hyperborean Fields, from 1860 to the year one, educated men were brothers in knowledge. But now the field of knowledge has enlarged so greatly, and arbitrary election has cut from this field curricula so diverse, that even great scholars in different departments can sometimes scarcely converse with each other except on trivial topics of the day. The vast democratic mood of our day does not manifest itself in the fellowship of learning, but in community of styles. All men do not know the same things, but all men wear the same hats and "varsity" clothes, use safety razors and thin model watches, and have nickel instead of brass trimmings on their automobiles. Everything is becoming standardized except education.

Here there is one vast welter of experimentation. Every group of related facts is being tried out as the basis of the educational process. And we cannot look for uniformity again. For this educational process is being applied to the training of all classes. Its aims and functions are manifold, its methods and materials will likewise be diverse. In reality, the vocational training and professional equipment which now share the name of education with the traditional material, are essentially different from it. The body of knowledge included in college courses has been legitimately modified, it is true, by the expansion of the field of knowledge and the shifting values of the different branches of learning; and in some cases perhaps mistakenly affected by the introduction of vocational training as education. The same error which injects the classics into vocational drill will permit shop-work

and salesmanship as part of the educational work of the colleges. Nevertheless, the colleges have as yet maintained their identity of character and of function. They still present, within varying limits, bodies of knowledge that have much in common, which may be analyzed according to the same classifications, and which have a definite function, different from that of the industrial courses.

The material of the college course may be classified as knowledge of the outer world and knowledge of the human heart—the sciences and the humanities. As we live our life in this world, we are constantly subject to the reactions of two sets of influences, that of the material world about us and that of the world of fellow spirits who attend us on our pilgrimage. Whatever determinative reactions we may project upon the non-ego must likewise affect one or the other of these two worlds. A general knowledge of the truths of these two worlds, and of the strange fabric of law, order, system, and reason which underlies them both, is necessary if we are to plan and conduct an intelligent and efficient career through life. It is because we live in a reasonable world that we are reasonable creatures. It is in proportion to the degree in which we have, consciously or unconsciously, assimilated these laws and formed our habits of mind upon them that we are above the clods. Without this knowledge, a man is an inert and aimless thing, propelled at random by physical impulses, hunger and cold and passion, and by the more determinative purposes of his fellow spirits. That is not saying that he will be a destructive or even an obstructive agency in social progress. Without this knowledge, he may function smoothly, as the horse functions, but more or less blindly and unintelligently. He will earn a good living, marry and raise a family, eat Thanksgiving dinner with a grateful heart, and die in the faith of his fathers. He will unconsciously imbibe and even help to create the spirit of his times. But without that body of general knowledge, that comprehensive view which it is the province of the college to convey, without that orientation of himself in the physical and material universe, he will remain the "man with the hoe" evermore; "food for powder," as Napoleon said; or, to industrialize the metaphor, "labor cost," a tool to be used by more self-conscious intelligences.

Knowledge of the outer world is conveyed by general courses in physics, chemistry, biology, geology, all the sciences of natural phenomena; mathematics, or the science of those number relations that so mysteriously underlie all natural phenomena; history and the social sciences, being the account of man's activities in relation to the material world and in contact with his fellows; and philosophy, the science of the mind and brain from the objective standpoint. The purpose of these courses is to convey general ideas and knowledge of the material facts that condition our activities, to afford a notion of our place in the order of creation, to give one poise and perspective in the work of his own domain. The conception that gives science a dominating place in the college course because of its marvelous achievements in making the wheels of life run smoothly is entirely erroneous. Brief science courses as given in the colleges do not contribute directly to the alleviations of life, but to comprehensiveness of view. The extreme probabilities are that I shall never make use of the fact that I learned from seeing a feather and a penny drop side by side in a vacuum tube. Science is daily working beneficent wonders. Therefore we celebrate science and richly reward scientific investigators of new and profitable fields. But it is very unscientific to infer from these practical benefits that this field of learning is exclusively or peculiarly fitted to lead out the groping spirit into an understanding that will make for efficiency. Such a conclusion can be reached only by long observation of the actual results of such use of exclusively or mainly scientific courses as educational material, or by deep and close analysis of the essential functions of education, and of the suitability of natural courses to perform these functions.

There remain of the materials of the college course, the languages. Language is a product of the material world, a natural phenomenon, and must be studied as a science, its characteristic reactions classified and correlated, and its laws observed and formulated. But language is vastly more than philology. This thing which has grown and developed by increments according to natural laws, and has been subject to evolutionary change, enshrines a something not material but spiritual, the thoughts and feelings and moral reactions of men in times past, the very life and spirit of those whose influence has been most abiding in

our world. Here is a field of knowledge as vast as human nature. It will not lend itself to system and law and codification as will the knowledge of the material world. But it is not therefore less real and important knowledge. Here is a marvel past all knowing—that language, the framework of which is material, is informed with the living spirit. It is the only living thing that man has created. It has made possible that all the spirit life of the past and the distant should speak to us intimately—battling heroic hearts; benign spirits of saints; wild, turbulent souls, caught helpless on the wheel of things; the very quintessential gladness of radiant civilizations and stark gloom of days done. In idiom, in proverb, and in folksong, the moods, attitudes, and purposes of a whole race are alive and speaking. I say nothing at this point of the moral effect and developments attendant upon such familiarity with the free action of spiritual and mental life caught in the records of the past. But the intellectual effect is almost identical with that shrewd insight into human nature, its habitual and exceptional courses, instinct and motive, desire and disgust, which is otherwise to be acquired only by much experience of actual life.

These two elements, science and language, will thus be seen to constitute the typical college course, and to perform the enlightening functions I have suggested. Most of the colleges now offer two courses, the A. B., in which the language element predominates, and the B. S., in which the science element predominates. They differ only in the emphasis placed upon these elements. By the system of electives, the freedom of choice of the student is still further enlarged. But in all institutions there are still certain restrictions that are designed to secure some degree of comprehensiveness in the outlook on the universe. In other words, the colleges, while influenced, and as some think unduly influenced, by the prevailing confusion of mind as to the difference between education and vocational drill, still maintain the liberating ideal anciently embodied in the word educate.

Another and incidental function of the college is to familiarize with the methods and instruments and processes of learning. Libraries and laboratories, card-indexes and microscopes, the search for facts and phenomena and the search for authorities, these become familiar resources. The A. B. or B. S. graduate

should not only have a comprehensive general view of the world of knowledge, but he should be competent to continue his acquirements in any field, either in the graduate school or by independent investigation. This is that free world of thought into which he is introduced through the college course. The universities recognize this function of the colleges by admitting the bachelor to "graduate" work, a kind of research which is supposed to demand familiarity with the methods of scholarship.

The third function of the college course is to produce in the personality certain changes and developments. This may be called a by-product of education, but it is nevertheless an almost inevitable one and is directly dependent on the nature of the subjects presented, the manner of their presentation, and the personal character and beliefs of the instructors. Though a by-product, it is more important to the future of the student, in all ways, than the obvious fruits of the college course. It is conceivable that a student might go through the course merely cramming away the information acquired without relating it to life or to himself in any way. In that case the educational process is a failure. All schools are proud of this indefinable stamp that they put upon a man, and alumni rolls record with the greatest satisfaction achievements of their members which could not possibly be a result of scholarship acquired, but are born of fine qualities of soul which they are fain to believe have been developed under the inspiring influence of alma mater. There has been a deal of squabbling by rival types of institution over the quality and nature of this formative influence which plays upon the personality during the adolescent period. (It may be remarked that the spiritual readjustments that follow the acquisition of a considerable body of new knowledge at any age mark a state similar to adolescence.) The smaller colleges proceed upon the thesis that this influence is something in the nature of an infectious disease, to be contracted from "personal contact" with the instructor. The great and wealthy institutions, on the other hand, lend themselves to the creation of an "atmosphere" and, in the absence of a venerable antiquity, affect to impose upon the spirit by the domination of massive architecture, or by sheer weight of high-priced scholarship, or highly organized machinery of administration. In the denominational colleges, in

turn, religious influences are made paramount. It will be observed that these claims are all vague. And this vagueness has been the ground of much acrimony of debate. The secular schools have denounced the sanctimonious assumption of a character-shaping piety as a "fraud upon the young," while themselves making similarly vague claims of producing "social efficiency." It would perhaps be helpful in deciding the relative values of "character" and "efficiency" as products or by-products of the educational process, and at the same time enable us more intelligently and deliberately to attain these ends, if we could be specific as to how they are produced. For the two words taken together summarize concisely the moral reflexes which it is the third function of the college to establish.

Efficiency is indeed the great word. If there be truly any kind of training that can increase the efficiency of the individual, it is a contribution to human welfare not second to making two blades of grass grow in the place of one. The trade schools aim at efficiency in handling with certain tools; the technical schools at efficiency in dealing with certain natural laws; but the colleges aim at a personal efficiency that without limiting the aim of effort shall direct it and apply it so intelligently as to get a full equivalent in result. Efficiency is in fact a personal matter. In men, as in machinery, it demands the elimination of lost motion, friction, heat, and waste. It means the transformation of energy with least loss into results—the turning of your matutinal toast and eggs into the greatest amount and the highest type of constructive thinking and acting between eight o'clock and noon. It is a result of, first, a certain healthy functioning of the body, muscles, and nerves, and vital organs, which is characterized by a co-ordinating tendency to make all motions rhythmic; second, a quick and ready response of this body to the mind; but, third, it depends mainly on a systematizing habit of mind that is the result of training. All of these developments of facility are in fact forwarded by drill. The old notion that education was a process of developing the various faculties of the mind by exercise is now in some quarters discredited. The effort is made to restrict the function of education to the mere supplying of useful knowledge. It is a part of the general attack on the cultural subjects. But no amount of experimentation in the psychological

laboratory can disprove the age-long experience that "practice makes perfect." And not only does practice make perfect, but practice makes perfection more easily attainable in other fields. The reflexes established in the nerve ganglia soon make an habitual movement almost automatic. Since all movements of which the body is capable are composed of simpler elementary movements, it is quite evident that the synthesis of reflex motions will give all the effect of acquired skill. In a similar way, mental processes become habitual and (in a loose use of the term) instinctive. The general methods of attack, the elimination of the non-essential, the analysis of the residue, the comparative view of ends and means, these are simple acts of correlation, comparison, and judgment, and are quite as much subject to the habit-forming tendency as the movements of the body. The physical changes (whatever they be) are as inevitably produced in the gray matter of the brain as in the gray matter of the nerve ganglia. Now, it is the establishing of these simple and elementary thought-processes as habitual that does most to bring about personal efficiency—the treading out of the brain-paths through which direct and original and essential connections of ideas are made. Any kind of well-directed constructive activity during the plastic period when the organic rhythms and reflexes of the body and the mind are being established will make for efficiency in the modern world. The ends of life in our day—the devising of a means to turn ten thousand volts of electricity into upholstered, smoothly-gliding motion, the wording of an "ad" that will get results from a certain city crowd whose psychology has been thoroughly card-catalogued, the nice calculation of how high a tariff a certain traffic will "bear"—the ends of life in our day, require a kind of ratiocination very different from and far more straightforward than the intricate dialectic of the school men. You can get that practice in observation, comparison, and judgment, in connecting cause and effect, means and end, in the Louisville and Nashville machine shops in Birmingham and in the Manual Training High School in Kansas City. But the methods of acquiring knowledge as they are now practiced in a college afford the best of all approaches to that facility and directness of thought-process that constitutes personal efficiency. The most essential and constant operation in the whole procedure is the

noting and establishing of system in the mass of facts. The contact with and perception of law and order and consistency in the phenomena of the external world produces in the mind recurrent reactions which establish themselves as the normal order of activity. And this system and consistency of things—metal and mineral and plant, heat and light and motion, thought and the acts of men—is far more completely and explicitly comprehended in the work of the college than in any business of life or educational copy thereof.

Moreover, the approach to these protean manifestations of order and intelligence is through a series of definite tasks that necessitate those same orderly activities of comparison, classification, inference and judgment, that are constantly operative in practical life. Certainly this is true of the newer methods of instruction which lead the student to approach his task from the constructive, problem-solving, independent standpoint. The methodical process of acquiring skill in reading a foreign language, of relating new words, cases, and constructions with definite meanings to thought and then expressing this thought; the methodical process of learning mathematics by independently solving "originals;" the methodical process of learning history by independently tracing movements and their causes through the sources; the methodical process of learning a science by independently formulating laws from phenomena, of calculating results from laws and verifying them by experiment—here are the very activities which are relied upon in all industrial training to produce efficiency. It is a significant fact that the producers of personal efficiency on a commercial basis, the schools of salesmanship maintained by the great sales-organizations like the typewriter companies and the insurance companies, the apprentice systems of great industrial organizations like the Westinghouse Company, and the correspondence school enterprises, all make use of the most approved class-room methods. It may as well be at once confessed that these methods and processes may be followed with a slackness of performance on the part of the pupil and of exaction on the part of the teacher that is directly productive of the most reckless inefficiency. Only the most rigorous fidelity to all the minutiae of this process of acquiring learning can surpass, in building habits of efficiency, the long grind of

practical tasks under some martinet of a factory superintendent. And one occasionally yearns for a college conducted on the exacting lines of West Point or Annapolis, where scholars could apply the drastic discipline of liberal studies to the development of a personal efficiency that would make the world itself seem like a fostering mother! Certainly a growing realization of this formative function of the college is going to affect methods of instruction, to reform the whole process of imparting and acquiring knowledge upon activities which will establish reflexes most nearly approximating the activities of real life. And these efficiency-favoring reflexes most nearly approximating the activities of real life will be most quickly established, not by imitating in miniature life-activities, but by apperception, through favorable procedures, of that variable body of knowledge which makes up the college course. There is a considerable field here for that application of intelligence to detail and method which nowadays goes under the name of "scientific management." There will likewise be required deep and meticulous investigation of the psychological basis involved, and a number of years yet of experimentation in that larger laboratory—the educational system of the country. But the ultimate verdict, already foreshadowed, will be that it is a function of the college course to confer the widest personal efficiency.

Character, like efficiency, is a matter of habits and reflexes. It becomes fixed in the formative years. In so far, it is therefore a plausible theory that makes paramount the spiritual quality of the influences thrown round this period. If indeed the moral direction of the efficiency that is being developed can be determined by influences, no greater task can be given into a man's hands than the wielding of these influences. It is a task that should be approached with the most serious and systematic intelligence. There is no room here for the least cant or looseness in planning or thinking. One must endeavor to seize and analyze the intangible correlations of impulse and act, of emotional tension and determinative discharge, of admiration and moral judgment. If one adds to these nuances of moral tone the inexplicable manifestations of emotional religious experience, he gets a medium of the most refined and complex gradations of effect in which creative personality ever wrought. One class of educators choose to ig-

nore these elements in their problem as "unpractical," and commit themselves to a system that, according to the well-known aphorism of Prince Bismarck, sends two-thirds of their raw material to the scrap heap; while a second class, though magnifying the importance of the moral and spiritual adjustments that take place during the college lustrum, leave them to be taken care of by a rather hazy religious "atmosphere" and the annual revival. And yet character, while an infinitely more complex product, is subject to the same rules of development as efficiency. It is a matter of habits and reflexes, and may be styled moral efficiency. As the processes of acquiring knowledge necessitate certain preliminary acts or movements of the mind, which become habitual, so this knowledge when it has been apperceived produces definite reactions and adjustments which tend to repeat themselves. The quality of these moral reactions, as they crystallize into habit, determines character and is itself decided by (a) previously established tendencies, (b) subtly and, it may be, unconsciously communicated suggestions of the moral attitude of the instructor, and (c) the self-determination of the individual in each case. Of these, (a) does not come within our province, while (c) merely introduces that uncertainty that will be found in all problems where an indeterminate quantity like the human will is a factor. The moral attitude of the instructor in his interpretation of truth is therefore the only direct approach to the formation of character in education. By suggestion and by sympathy, he can develop right instincts and foster fine enthusiasms! Traveling through the curriculum, the student is brought in vital touch with the moral crises of life.

The "scientific spirit" will imbue all science courses. This noble ideal of unswerving devotion to the truth is the most precious contribution of science to the world, far beyond all material advantages and consolations that have been wrested from nature. The sheer moral effect of dwelling daily with this rectifying conception, squaring our action by it, staking our lives and our fortunes on it, is developing an entirely new social and political philosophy. It has rearranged the principles of the advertising world, inspired the Progressive movement in politics, and informs with a wonderful simplicity the latest and biggest religious propaganda of the day—The Men and Religion Forward Movement.

It is the most heroic aspiration of the human heart, and no right-minded lad can escape the temper of that high loyalty to the truth at any cost upon which the processes of his mind are being constantly moulded. He is establishing a habit of integrity, an intellectual conscience that cannot blink inaccuracy, a satisfying faith in the ultimate beneficence of simple reality. The imagination is captured by an ideal more compelling than the traditions of chivalry. The heart is touched, and matter-of-fact science becomes the evangel of the liberating Gospel of Truth.

The inhibition of falsehood which is so essential to true manhood is, however, almost the only moral reflex established by the whole scientific branch of the curriculum. The study of literature, on the other hand, brings one face to face with manifold problems in conduct. That is the function of literature—to counterfeit life in its most poignant crises. It has, in fact, this great advantage over life as a moral teacher that it can pick and choose from all the most affecting and significant experiences and impose them upon the soul in ordered succession. It develops within the magic space of a few pages the emotional effects and moral convictions of years. With infinite subtlety of suggestion, it re-creates in a twentieth century breast the high devotions of chivalry or the stern heroisms of ancient Rome, and renews them again and again until an attitude of soul is established, an emotional habit is set up, the moral fibre is fixed. Art in this extraordinary manner, by symbols and devices, creates the veritable illusion of a great emotional experience. And its range is a thousand times greater than the possible range of experiences in the most romantic and adventurous of lives. It makes real and present and emotionally effective the life of the past and the distant, and condenses the moral judgments and reactions of a lifetime into a few years. There is but one element lacking in the psychological effect. It is this. The artificial experiences of the class room and the study do not culminate in action. The emotional tension is not fixed and authenticated by practical effort. This is a serious lack, indeed, but is inevitable from the very nature of the character-shaping enterprise which endeavors to condense the wisdom of a lifetime into a few short years. And it is not a fatal defect. Thus to know the thought-life and the heart-life of men of other races and of other climes and other centuries, to sympathize with and un-

derstand the emotions and purposes of the human heart under manifold conditions, brings wisdom, balance, intellectual sympathy, that interpretative understanding and tolerant attitude that alone ought to be called culture. There is no one quite so generous in his sympathies as your young college graduate except the old man who has lived long and suffered much. The college course has been likened by Robert Louis Stevenson and others to a world where we see all things fore-shortened and generation follows generation at four-year intervals. It is an illuminating conceit with many piquant analogies and a very real basis of truth. To live for four years in intimate communion with the great hearts of all ages and all times bestows a wisdom that only life itself and manifold contacts with men can otherwise confer. This is the real inner significance of the college education. It equips with a certain field of knowledge which admits to a more and more limited free-masonry of learning; and it develops a certain degree of facility and efficiency; all of which things other types of education claim to do better. But no other system of training can pretend thus to epitomize the spiritual significances of a lifetime. It will be a great disaster if the influence of other types of training for life shall destroy this, the most significant element in the college education. The application of the educational process to the training of workers in all fields is a wonderful development and is changing the face of the world. But it is directed towards and affects that vast body of young men who before were not educated at all. There is as yet no indication that it can produce the higher types of intelligence and of character—the reformer, the artist, the statesman. Yet as long as we have an increasingly complex civilization there will be needed not fewer but more men of this catholic type which as yet only the college has consistently produced.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**THE FRAMING OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.** By Max Farrand. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1913,—ix, 281 pp. \$2 net.

**AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.** By Charles A. Beard. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913,—vii, 330 pp. \$2.25.

The work of the convention which framed the constitution of the United States has long been, and will ever be, a subject of inquiry. One reason for this is that the "fathers" kept their proceedings secret, that the official journal when finally published proved defective, and to gain an adequate conception of what took place behind closed doors a vast amount of miscellaneous evidence has had to be collected and sifted. A deeper cause of interest in the convention is that each generation of the American people will always make some test of our fundamental written constitution from the angle of their political and economic problems.

Each of these interests is illustrated by the works under review. For over a decade Professor Farrand has been engaged in collecting and editing all material that might throw light on activities in the convention. The result of his labors was the publication in 1911 of his monumental *Records of the Federal Convention*. The aim of the present study is to give a narrative of the proceedings in the convention, based on the sources. It is safe to say that in organization and presentation of material Professor Farrand's account of the body is the best at hand. He has skillfully accomplished a two-fold task: he allows the reader to follow the deliberative processes viz.: the introduction of plans, the debates of the committee of the whole, the work of the committees on detail and style, etc., until the finished product appears; at the same time there is ever kept before one's mind some great problem.

Turning to the subject matter, the chief value of Professor Farrand's investigations has been to give a new perspective to the conventional view of the compromises in the constitution. Concerning the clauses fixing representation, he shows that the double

system based on states and population can no longer be unreservedly called the "Connecticut Compromise", that in apportioning membership in the lower house the fundamental conflict was between east and west rather than north and south, and the three to five ratio of whites and slaves was not original but derived from the existing system of the Confederation. Also in marked contrast to the older accounts of the convention is the emphasis placed on the controversy over the election of the President, the antagonism between the east and the west, the question of admitting new states, and the close relation between the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution. However, on one important question the information given is not sufficiently explicit, that of the right of courts to declare laws of Congress unconstitutional. We read that "it was generally assumed by the leading men in the convention that this power existed." Yet as a matter of fact this power was a nascent one in the states, it was not mentioned in the debate on the federal judiciary but in that relating to the proposed council of revision, when eight favored conferring the power and four opposed it, and the presidential veto was agreed upon as a substitute. Among those favoring this power of courts Professor Farrand mentions Madison and cites from the debates; but at another point in the debates, which is not quoted, Madison clearly opposed unlimited exercise of the power in question (cf. Farrand, Records of the Federal Convention, Vol. II, pp. 93, 430). It is also worth noting that Hamilton's conversion to the idea came after the convention adjourned, some time between writing Federalist No. 33 and No. 78.

Every careful reader will regret that Professor Farrand is not more generous with footnotes. It would also have been well to have given in an introductory chapter an account of the sources for the convention and the story of their exploitation. Certain technical points, such as the influence of Pelatiah Webster and the Pinckney plan, are outlined; but references to the literature relating to them should have been cited. In describing the members of the convention, Alexander Martin, of North Carolina, is reported as "being dismissed from the army for cowardice in the battle of Germantown"; however the sources indicate that he was tried by court martial and found not guilty (cf. Colonial Records of N. C. x, 677).

The aim of Professor Farrand is to clarify the procedure and actual work of the convention; that of Professor Beard is to present a motive for the movement which produced the convention and a keynote to its deliberations and their finished product, the constitution. These are found in the economic interests of the members of the convention and of those who were in sympathy with their work. The process by which this conclusion is reached is novel. An analysis of the "economic interests" is presented, which consisted of real property and "personalty", the latter including money, securities, trade and manufactures. The membership of the convention is next examined, showing that nearly all of those favoring the constitution as completed were holders of continental securities, that throughout the country those engaged in manufactures and sea-faring desired a protective tariff, and that the legal profession, well represented in the convention, naturally supported these economic interests. In order to appreciate their holdings and to secure governmental aid to industry by a tariff, an attempt was made by the class just described to secure amendments to the Articles of Confederation through the regular procedure. However the farmers and debtors successfully opposed the movement; thereupon the "personalty" interests began to criticise the Articles of Confederation and to misrepresent the conditions under them, which were in truth very good; finally they secured the constitutional convention, whose real aim was to secure a redemption of the public debt through a system of taxation, protection against agrarian legislation in the states by forbidding the abrogation of contracts, and power to levy a high tariff. Thus the federal constitution is "an economic document drawn with superb skill by men whose property interests were immediately at stake, . . . . the work of a consolidated group whose interests knew no state boundaries and were truly national in their scope."

Such an "economic interpretation" is obviously a half truth. Undoubtedly economic matters were the basis of the movement which resulted in the constitution; but their scope was much wider than Professor Beard allows. For instance, state currency was unquestionably a serious economic problem, for seven states embarked in a paper money policy from 1783 to 1787; yet Professor Beard makes this financial anarchy secondary in import-

ance to the depreciation of continental securities held by the "fathers". Moreover, some of the states were engaged in commercial warfare with each other; this "economic interpretation" is entirely overlooked. Then there was the question of commercial relations with foreign countries, equally economic and totally neglected. Finally, might not the records show that some of those who opposed the constitution also held continental securities? In the light of these facts, is it safe to interpret the constitution as a class document in which the "personality" interests won a victory over the farmers and debtors? Is it good judgment to make the guarantee of the public debt, the power to levy taxes and duties, and protection of contracts, the economic features of the constitution to the neglect of the abolition of paper money, the power over interstate commerce, and placing treaties on a par with the supreme law of the land?

Professor Beard's argument has two faults so often found in polemics, contradiction and insufficient evidence. On one page we learn that the members of the Cincinnati "were usually men of some means and were not compelled to sacrifice their holdings to speculators at outrageously low prices" (p 38). But Washington, the wealthiest man in Virginia, was obliged to sell at twenty to one (p 146); might not others less wealthy than he have sold at a sacrifice? In the choice of delegates to the convention the "personality" interests were successful; if there was so much economic conflict between the farmers and the security holders and traders, how could this result have been secured when the landed class controlled the legislatures which elected the delegates? (p 271-272). In ratification we are told that "personality" was again guarded by resort to the constitutional convention which proceeded directly from the people, in which "personality" had a better chance than in the legislatures (p 219); yet in five states the majorities of the conventions were clearly opposed to ratification. Again in discussing the elections to the conventions we are told that approximately 100,000, out of 160,000 voting, favored ratification, (p 250); on the next page we find that "it may well be that a majority of those who voted were against the adoption of the constitution as it then stood" (p 251). After all if the constitution was so clearly an economic issue, why was so much of the opposition conciliated by promises

of amendments in which questions of personal liberty and states rights predominated?

In the use of sources and authorities Professor Beard is not thorough. The only sources he has consulted not hitherto used are the records of the Treasury Department which give an inventory of the continental stock. The vast quantity of state laws and documents, court decisions, newspapers and pamphlets are not utilized. The leading secondary authorities used are university monographs; even here some have been overlooked, notably the studies of Professor Bullock in the public finances of the time. Mention of Fiske's *Critical Period* to the exclusion of McLaughlin's *Confederation and Constitution* is also suggestive. The reviewer believes that old conceptions should be questioned, that motives of public men should be tested, that more attention must be paid to economic history; but new conclusions and generalizations should always be based on research wider and deeper than that under criticism, even if they are meant to be merely suggestive.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

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THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By John Macy. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company. 1913. 347 pp.

There are several ways in which John Macy's book on American writers stands out from other works of the same nature. It differs, especially, in plan, selection, arrangement, and personality. The plan is made clear in an introductory chapter on "General Characteristics" where the author discusses the spirit of American literature both in kind—which he finds English (or negative) and in degree—which he finds medium. But such a classification is not applied relentlessly: Hawthorne, of course, is not put under the first nor Whitman under the second. Yet in spite of exceptions and qualifications Mr. Macy succeeds in justifying his contention, and his insistence upon it gives unity to his book. American authors are presented not as personalities, primarily, but as interpreters of American thought. And they are not chosen according to literature-etiquette. The colonial writers Mr. Macy considers not "American" at all, and with hardly a word of explanation, certainly none of apology, he sweeps the Mather-Wiggleworth-Brown-Franklin company into a heap of Respectable Relics; and he opens his literature at Irving.

Following Irving are studies of Cooper, Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Poe, Holmes, Thoreau, Lowell, Whitman, Mark Twain, Howells, William James, Lanier, Henry James. It is probably these last six chapters that will interest the reader most. The author gives more space to Whitman than to any other writer, and he quotes from him generously. Mr. Macy says: "Rightly comprehended, Whitman's central theme is a cosmic declaration of sympathy, a reverberant announcement of the love and imagination which enable the great artist to identify himself with all the joys and sorrows of man." Mark Twain is included among the "emergent figures," the reader may infer, because of "his portrait of Mankind. And that is the greatest canvas that any American has painted;" Howells, because while he "has not had a great deal to say that is significant, he has said everything in an unimprovable manner"; William James, because of his "humanity and imagination"; Lanier, because "he is a poet of nature and things, of the meaning of central present things, that harry and strengthen the heart of man." These five men indubitably represent the self expression which is a part of the American spirit; but for Henry James there seems to be no valid reason for inclusion except that, as Mr. Macy says, "We cannot yield him from our poverty to the riches of the English novel."

In arrangement, this volume displays the same common sense that influenced the choice of writers. Most studies in literature emphasize biography irrespective of intrinsic interest or interpretative possibilities. Mr. Macy reduces his Lives to a bare statement of fact. But while he condenses, he does not omit. Each author is presented through critical comment; biographical notes; a list of works (dated); a list of biographies, studies, and essays, with a brief judgment of each.

The fourth quality that marks Mr. Macy's book is Mr. Macy himself. He is always in sight of the reader and generally in touch with him. But not always, for in criticism the presence of a strong personal element in the author is apt to arouse a very human contrariness in the reader. Moreover, an acutely personal attitude endangers perspective. In this book there are certain heads of Charles the First—such as university faculties and jejune courses in literature—that loom large in many a literary landscape. But this same individuality of mind makes for good read-

ing. The author has, too, a knack of phrasing, a gift of sententious expression, and an art of sentence structure which ensure ease and clearness. And he possesses an ironic humor that gives life to his most casual statement. He looks into (and through) persons, institutions and conditions, and announces his conclusions with an emphasis that must win attention and should win agreement.

CAROLINE FRANCIS RICHARDSON  
Newcomb College, Tulane University.

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WHAT CAN LITERATURE DO FOR ME. By C. Alphonso Smith. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1913.—228 pp.

In the volume bearing the title quoted above, Professor Smith has written a most helpful book for all persons in need of a guide to the study of literature. As suggested by the title, the book is addressed primarily to younger students and untrained readers,—those who have not yet learned the correct approach to literature and who really need to be informed as to some of the things they should seek in it and how they should endeavor to find what they ought to seek. The intention of the author was not to offer here a series of literary criticisms, however strikingly suggestive and well taken many of his passing appreciations of poems and authors are, but rather his purpose was a practical one. In fact, his volume is unique just for this reason: it is a book about literature by one well versed in it and devoted to it, and yet it is at all places intelligible to those who are seeking light on a subject too often made darker by writers who profess to illuminate it. Furthermore, the book is evidently by an experienced teacher of literature, not a professional critic. It will therefore be of great help to other teachers, and ought to be recommended by them to all students beginning the study of literature. While it will not make poets or clear headed critics of them, it will prove at once of great value in the way of disclosing new points of view from which to regard their work. And I believe also that it will hasten the coming to them of a taste for good books.

Of the six studies, or lectures, showing the most obvious and immediate profit to be derived from the study of literature, the first is probably the best. It is here that the author explains

that literature should furnish us with an outlet and not an inlet; that is, that we should find in literature nobly and beautifully expressed that which we have but dimly seen or dumbly felt, and thus by means of our reading actually live, as it were, a wider, deeper, nobler life. The other benefits to come, according to the author, are the vision of the ideal, a better knowledge of human nature, a knowledge of, and an interest in, the past, an appreciation of the glory of the commonplace, and a mastery of one's own language. All of these points of view are interestingly developed by Dr. Smith.

With no intention at carping criticism the reviewer must say that there are occasional assertions in the book that can hardly go unchallenged. For example, page 140: "But the two great masters to whom the civilized world is most indebted for its *knowledge* [the italics are mine] of the past are Shakespeare and Scott." Again, which is more widely known and is the surer of earthly immortality, Arthur Hallam or Helen Fourment, the second wife of Rubens and the model for his famous paintings, is probably a question not so readily answerable in favor of the former as the author seems to imply on page 129. Tennyson is hardly a world poet and may never become one; Rubens certainly is a world painter. It seems to the reader, too, that the author's choice of passages from Tennyson and Browning, page 43, to show that poets by intuition often antedate scientists in their discoveries is not very happy. These poets were contemporaries of Darwin. There are so many earlier poets who might have been chosen to illustrate his contention, which is, of course, true. There are likewise at times infelicitous expressions or comparisons in the book, such as, page 13, "But they have one thing in common: they grip human life with the *open hand*." [The italics are mine.] Or, page 220, "Sentences, then, like bananas grow in bunches, these bunches are paragraphs." Such shortcomings are all the more noticeable because of the generally excellent style of the book.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

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THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM, 1660-1754. PART I, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SYSTEM, 1660-1688. By George Louis Beer. 2 vols. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.—xvi, 381, 382 pp. \$4.00.

Readers familiar with Mr. Beer's "Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660" and "British Colonial Policy, 1754-

1765" can easily imagine the character of the contents of the present work. As the author himself expresses it, in these volumes he is treating the same subject in a period which leaves it "not only unhampered by problems of origin, but . . . to a great extent liberated from the controversial questions which were ultimately decided, if not solved, by the ordeal of battle." In other words, Mr. Beer is here dealing with the dead level of the history of the "colonial system" with the slightest possible chance for a departure from the natural order of development. Obviously, before we go further, we must ascertain what the author means by the term, "colonial system", which he admits "has no precise connotation, and is susceptible of varying meanings of more or less ample extension." Perhaps it is well to let Mr. Beer give his own definition of the sense in which he makes use of the phrase. "It is synonymous with that complex system of regulations whose fundamental aim was to create a self-sufficient commercial empire of mutually complementary economic parts." In short, Mr. Beer is here dealing with the economic theories current in England and the commercial and fiscal policies of the government, as far as they pertained to colonial affairs, in the period of the Restoration, from 1660 to 1688.

In the first volume are five chapters dealing respectively with "The Colonial Policy of the Period", "The Laws of Trade and Navigation and Imperial Defence", "The English Fiscal System and Imperial Finance", "Central and Local Administrative Machinery", and "The Slave Trade and the Plantation Colonies". These chapters are really a series of short monographs loosely joined together and composed of almost appalling collections of data rather than of any clearly defined theories or well-established conclusions. In the second volume the author describes the local commercial and economic problems peculiar to the several colonies in seven chapters devoted respectively to "Barbados and the Leeward Islands", "Jamaica and the Outlying Islands", "Virginia and Maryland", "The Carolinas", "Newfoundland", "Massachusetts", and "The Dominion of New England."

A mere glance at the footnotes of these volumes impels one to commend the industry of their author in his researches. The sources which he has used are familiar to students of colonial history, but the use which he has made of them bears eloquent testi-

mony of painstaking labor and almost infinite patience. One is almost inclined to hope that if there are other data pertaining to this phase of British history besides the facts which Mr. Beer has found and brought to our attention they may be allowed to slumber peacefully in the realms of dust and oblivion unless some conclusion worth the while can be established by bringing them to light. The facts which Mr. Beer has so voluminously set forth may probably afford some grounds for novel conclusions on points in British and American history. But one cannot help wishing that the author himself had somewhere given us a tentative interpretation to guide us in the appreciation of his work, or at least a summary of the points he conceives that he has established. We can agree with him that "historical facts should be approached without any preconceived ideas as to their meaning" and that economic data, in particular, are "especially liable to be distorted by the author's personal view of political philosophy." But it is doubtful whether an historian is fulfilling our rightful expectations of him when he is content merely to present facts and leaves them to be "interpreted" by his readers from their individual points of view. That is the chief criticism to which Mr. Beer's work is open. Of facts he has enough and, perhaps, to spare. In truth, he might well have spared us the tedium of reading so many of them. One cannot help doubting whether it is essential for even an historical scholar to know many of the details Mr. Beer has narrated in these volumes. Almost every incident in the day's journey of the commercial development of the colonies is set down with impartial faithfulness. The trouble is that we find little evidence that we are making much progress toward a destination that is at all worth while. And to many of us the journey grows monotonous unless we can find here and there a mile-post to show us where we are and to tell us whither we are travelling.

The only novel points I have noticed in Mr. Beer's book are in matters of detail. Naturally, in assembling so large a body of facts he has found many things not hitherto generally known. But our general conclusions are changed little if at all by Mr. Beer's labors. In his chapter on "Central and Local Administrative Machinery" he has added somewhat to Professor Andrews' monograph, and it is useful to have an authoritative statement of the history of the navigation laws in the period of the Restora-

tion. Even in these chapters it would have been better if the author had divested himself of much of the detail with which he has encumbered his narrative and had told a clearer and more connected story. And it is not so easy to find what the point is in the chapter on "The Colonial Policy of the Period", while the chapter on the slave trade and the remaining seven chapters on the several colonies are little more than mere collections of facts.

After all is said, however, we are indebted to Mr. Beer for his thorough research and for the careful manner in which he has set forth every fact and has pointed us to the source from which it is derived. Whoever in the future shall undertake to reach general conclusions concerning the development of the British Empire in its early stages will find much of the drudgery done for him and many of the facts he needs ready at hand.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

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**SAN FRANCISCO RELIEF SURVEY. THE ORGANIZATION AND METHODS OF  
RELIEF USED AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE OF APRIL 18, 1906.**

Compiled from studies by Charles J. O'Connor, Francis H. McLean, Helen Swett Artieda, James Marvin Motley, Jessica Peixotto, and Mary Roberts Coolidge. Russell Sage Foundation Publication. New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1913,—xxv, 483 pp. Postpaid, \$3.50.

That great public catastrophe, the San Francisco earthquake and fire, furnished a remarkable opportunity for men and women of scientific training in philanthropic work to apply their methods to secure the most effective emergency relief. A loss of \$500,-000,000 had been incurred in the destruction of real and personal property. Only about \$200,000,000 of insurance money was available for the rehabilitation of the city. There was also an incalculable loss from non-employment, from unrentable property, and from the general cessation of business. The sympathy of the United States and of the civilized world was enlisted for the stricken city, and many millions of dollars of relief funds were provided from various sources. It was the task of the trained workers in philanthropy to administer these funds so as to secure the best results in the material restoration of San Francisco, in the aid of its business men, and in the relief of citizens left in distress.

This volume presents in detail the story of the relief organization that was effected, of the methods that were used, and of the

generally successful character of the work. No such intensive study of any other American disaster of like proportions has been made. The administration of the funds was dominated by a desire not merely to remedy distress in a temporary way but to give such aid as would restore among the citizens the methods and standards of living maintained before the disaster. How this was successfully accomplished makes a story of the greatest interest and presents a record that will be invaluable in similar emergencies in the future. Advance copies of this book were rushed through the presses and put in the hands of the Red Cross representatives who had to deal with the recent tornado catastrophe at Omaha and with the flood situation at Dayton, Columbus, and other Ohio cities. The volume has been lavishly illustrated with pictures showing graphically how the relief organization dealt with the situation. There are likewise several pictures of portions of the city while the fire was in progress. The authors have included maps, charts, statistics, and forms used in the relief work. Altogether this survey is a unique record of the effective application of the methods of modern philanthropy in a time of extreme public emergency.

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**GUERRILLA LEADERS OF THE WORLD.** By Percy Cross Standing. With 16 illustrations and maps. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913, 294 pp. \$1.75 net.

Notwithstanding the organized effort at the present time to bring about peace among nations and to lessen the military spirit throughout the world, deeds of daring still have a power to hold the interest and admiration of the most peaceful. Particularly attractive are the stories of the irregular warfare of the past, in which the guerilla fighter has depended not on the methods of the drill ground and military school, but on the surprise, the feint, the raid, the ambuscade, and the night attack.

Mr. Standing has made it his task to give us a volume celebrating the adventures and achievements of the great guerilla leaders of all the world. The company gathered together in his book is certainly a dashing one. Here we read of Bolivar, Garibaldi, Sitting Bull, Ozman Digna, and our own Mosby, Morgan, and Forrest. Initiative, resourcefulness, bravery, and sheer recklessness

are well illustrated in many a career. The Southern guerilla fighters all receive their meed of admiration from Mr. Standing, who shows how personally estimable they were, although compelled by their destructive task to leave behind them on their expeditions ruin and suffering. The volume is illustrated with numerous portraits and maps.

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**THE COTTON MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES.** By Melvin Thomas Copeland. Harvard Economic Studies, VIII. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1912,—xii, 415 pp. Price \$2.00 net.

Cotton manufacturing is one of the most important industries of the United States, this country ranking second among the nations of the world in the volume of its output. Hence an exhaustive study of the industry by a competent investigator will be welcomed in many quarters. Dr. Copeland traces the growth of cotton manufacturing in the United States from its earliest beginnings, but wisely confines the discussion of the period before 1860 to a single chapter. After 1860 he considers comprehensively the geographical distribution of the industry, its progress in technique, labor problems, associations and combinations, the raw cotton market, the cloth market, export and import trade, and dividends and prices. Dr. Copeland also devotes a considerable part of his book to a discussion of the relative position of the United States as compared with the cotton manufacturing countries of Europe. He has obtained a great deal of first-hand information from numerous manufacturers and business men in America, England, Germany, France, and Switzerland.

Southern cotton manufacturers will find a number of pages of interesting discussion of the relative advantages of the northern and southern mills (pp. 32-53). Dr. Copeland summarizes the situation as follows: "The advantages accruing to the southern manufacturers from proximity to the cotton fields, good water-power, light taxes, long hours, and new machinery are counterbalanced in the north by more abundant capital and credit facilities, greater public conveniences, more experienced managers and better disciplined workmen, concentration instead of dispersion, superior climate, and nearness to markets and finishing works. The chief asset of the southern manufacturers has been the supply of cheap labor, but this source is nearly exhausted. Hence a rise

in wages has taken place, and it is to be expected that by the competition of employers they will be forced up to the New England level. Few more native whites are to be secured; the negroes are unavailable; and immigrants cannot be attracted by low earnings."

In his discussion of the effect of the tariff on cotton manufacturing, Dr. Copeland maintains that the protective tariff is, for the majority of American cotton manufacturers, "an empty and imaginary guardian." He says: "The prices of the grades of cloth produced in the United States in the largest quantities are practically the same as those obtaining in England. Yet if the tariff does not raise the prices how can it possibly yield any benefit? If the manufacturers were willing to give up some of the useless 'protection' and seek a reduction in the duties on their supplies, they would strengthen their competitive position. Machinery, which is protected by a forty-five per cent duty, costs more in America. Part of this duty on machinery, in turn, goes to the steel manufacturers. The duties on dye-stuffs and other minor requisites are also handicaps to the American cotton manufacturer in his competition for a foreign market."

The author's careful analysis of conditions in the industry and his conclusions, from which we have quoted, deserve thoughtful attention from all who are in any way connected with this branch of manufacture and trade. Such work merits high praise.

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**THE SALE OF LIQUOR IN THE SOUTH. THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NORMAL SOCIAL RESTRAINT IN SOUTHERN COMMONWEALTHS.** By Leonard Stott Blakey. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Volume I.I. New York: Columbia University, Longmans, Green and Company, Agents, 1912, 56 pp. Price \$1.00.

Dr. Blakey has undertaken an investigation of the causes of the prohibition movement which recently swept over a large part of the country. In this study he presents the results in fourteen southern commonwealths. He traces historically the progress of the movement for the repression of the saloon and the gradual extension of no-license territory. The facts are illustrated by elaborate plates. Dr. Blakey's investigations indicate that the prohibition movement in the South was not of "cataclysmic

character," but was rather the culmination of a long period of development. A chapter is given to a review of experience with the sale of liquor in the South by government dispensaries. At one time or another this method of dealing with the liquor problem has been used in Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. The most important test of the dispensary method was by the commonwealth of South Carolina. This method of managing the liquor traffic is found to have proved most unsatisfactory. It produced revenue, but it did not eliminate the corrupt influences of the saloon. It gave opportunity for "graft" in political circles. Although some local dispensaries still remain in southern states, the dispensary plan must be pronounced a failure.

Another interesting chapter is that dealing with the hindrances of federal law to the enforcement of prohibition. In his discussion of the difficult subject of conflict between state and federal jurisdiction, the author does not arrive at any practicable solution of the constitutional problems involved. His monograph was published before the enactment of the recent federal legislation on the matter, and hence he had no opportunity for discussing its probable effectiveness.

In the South the presence of a large negro population has been thought by many to be a factor of great importance affecting the solution of the prohibition question. Dr. Blakey's extensive study of the subject, however, leads him to a different conclusion. His inductive inference from data drawn from statute laws, official state reports, and election statistics, is that "the negro has been an inconsiderable factor in the prohibitory movement of the South, because the saloon has been abolished and retained in the communities of the South without apparent reference to the presence of the negro." The negro does not seem to have exerted any greater influence against the prohibition movement than the white man. Dr. Blakey finds himself in essential agreement with the opinion expressed by Dr. John E. White in an article in the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY* for April, 1908, that the greatest hindrance to the prohibition movement has come from the lower levels of both races.

The work under review is illustrated by tables of statistics, lists of liquor laws, and many elaborately prepared plates.

**THE TASK OF SOCIAL HYGIENE.** By Havelock Ellis. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912,—xv, 414 pp. \$2.50 net.

**GENETICS.** An Introduction to the Study of Heredity. By Herbert E. Walter. With 72 Figures and Diagrams. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913,—xiv, 272 pp. \$1.50 net.

This is a time when many people are deeply interested in the possibility of improving the race through the bringing of better-born individuals into the world. The new science of "eugenics" has achieved a considerable popularity. There is, however, a general lack of knowledge of the difficult biological problems involved in achieving such a conformity with nature's laws of inheritance as to improve future generations mentally and physically. The subject of heredity concerns everyone; the recent literature in this field is very large; and there is a distinct place for a work which explains what is known of the laws of heredity in a manner intelligible to the lay reader.

Professor Walter has undertaken to occupy this interesting field with his volume entitled "Genetics." He has produced a work which is truly scientific and at the same time readable to any one who is capable of giving sustained attention to a rather complicated discussion. In these days of easy reading and engrossing "best sellers," not all readers can comply with such a requirement. For the serious minded Professor Walter has provided a clear and orderly presentation of the results of the best scholarship in the investigation of what is now recognized to be a subject of first importance. One of his most interesting chapters is that on the "Determination of Sex." Here the various theories which have been held by different investigators are reviewed, and the conclusion is that it is not possible for man to predetermine the sex of his offspring, which he has long hoped to be able to do. This conclusion has the practical value of directing attention to purposes which are attainable, such as the improvement of the character of offspring through the development of a eugenic conscience on the part of those entering the marriage relation, and through the use of the authority of society to prevent the defective and criminal classes from reproducing their kind.

The influence of a well-developed eugenic conscience upon marriage is discussed more at length in one of the chapters of Havelock Ellis's "The Task of Social Hygiene." He maintains that

the idea of eugenic selection is not opposed to that of romantic love. "Those who advocate a higher and more scientific conscience in matters of mating are," he says, "by no means plotting against love, which is for the most part on their side, but rather against the influences that do violence to love: on the one hand, the reckless and thoughtless yielding to mere momentary desire, and, on the other hand, the still more fatal influences of wealth and position and worldly convenience which give a factitious value to persons who would never appear attractive partners in life were love and eugenic ideals left to go hand in hand." Mr. Ellis makes some practical proposals for the keeping of eugenic records and for the accomplishment of eugenic selection.

Mr. Ellis's valuable volume also contains able chapters on the changing economic and social status of woman, the significance of the falling birth-rate, religion and the child, immorality and the law, the war against war, and other aspects of the world-movement for a wholesomer and happier humanity. It is far wider in its range and less technical in its subject matter than the work by Professor Walter; but both books are worthy contributions to the definite use of the results of scientific studies for the uplift of mankind.

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**INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS AND TRUSTS.** Edited by William S. Stevens.  
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913,—xvi, 593 pp. \$2.00 net.

Dr. Stevens, in the preparation of this volume, had two aims in view. The first was to design a book that should make accessible to college and university students much material on trusts which is difficult of access, or else altogether unavailable. The second purpose was the collection and arrangement of this material in such a way as to afford the ordinary reader a considerable knowledge at first hand of the historical development of the trust movement in the United States and a comprehension of the great problems which have grown out of this movement. One who is called upon to deal with the history of trust organization and regulation in the country will greet with enthusiasm this fresh collection of readings from the sources. New material drawn from the more recent federal trust investigations and prosecutions will be of especial value to students in college classes. It was

a happy thought to prepare so comprehensive and well selected a volume of first hand information. Dr. Stevens has performed his task with great fidelity to the original papers which he has used. However, in some few cases new typographical errors have been introduced. Nearly all important phases of the trust question are illustrated, and any wide-awake citizen will be interested and enlightened by the selections here presented illustrative of the history and operations of the oil, tobacco, steel, powder, and other combinations.

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**GATES OF THE DOLOMITES.** By L. Marion Davidson. With a chapter on the flora of the Dolomites by F. M. Spencer Thomson. Illustrated with a map and photographs by the author and others. With an introduction by Sir Melville Beachcroft. London and New York: The John Lane Company, 1912.—xvii, 331 pp. \$1.50 net.

Few books open up more enticing prospects for a summer's outing than does Miss Davidson's account of her experiences in the Dolomites. Travelers in Europe who love walking and mountain climbing have paid too little attention to this remarkable district in the Austrian Tyrol. Here are to be found charming passes, and weird, fantastically formed peaks quite unique among the mountainous regions of Europe. The district is near the border between Austria and Italy, and there is much in the simple life of the mountain people of the two nations to supplement the delights of nature.

Miss Davidson's book aims not so much to inform the traveler how to scale the apparently inaccessible peaks of the Dolomites as to direct him in finding the roads and threading the valleys which lead to the most delightful parts of this romantic region. The illustrations from original photographs give many interesting glimpses both of the scenery and of the people of this corner of the world. The chapters often contain narratives of personal experiences, adventurous and humorous. Anyone who desires to explore this picturesque bit of Austrian territory will find the volume under review a most helpful guide.

**A SUNNY LIFE: THE BIOGRAPHY OF SAMUEL JUNE BARROWS.** By Isabel C. Barrows. Illustrated. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1913, xi, 323 pp. \$1.50 net.

Samuel June Barrows was one of the leading penologists of the country, being at the time of his death Secretary of the Prison Association of New York. In his earlier years he had a most interesting career. He was a reporter on several New York papers, private secretary to William H. Seward, Secretary of State, editor of the *Christian Register*, and member of Congress. He at one time declined the position of Librarian of Congress. The story of Mr. Barrows' life is told by his wife, and he is indeed fortunate in his biographer. The volume is delightfully written and reveals in many an intimate touch the noble and lovable character of one who was through life devoted to the service of his fellow-beings. It is a fitting record of effective endeavor in humanity's cause—one that will uplift its readers and teach them what things in life are really worth while.

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**VIRGINIA.** By Ellen Glasgow. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1913,—526 pp. \$1.35 net.

Ellen Glasgow's latest novel "Virginia" deserves a place of distinction among recent works of fiction. It is both personal history and the history of civilization. Personally it is the story of husband and wife who grow apart: the development of the mental life of a talented man and of the heart life of a self-sacrificing woman. In a wider view we have here pictured the influence of changing times and social demands upon the sphere of woman; the faithful, devoted, home-centered wife and mother of the old school is contrasted with the "new woman" aspiring to compete with men on equal terms in every field of political, professional and intellectual life. More than this Miss Glasgow's book is an intimate picture of the people and life of a Virginia town, portraying with sure touch the typical human units who compose the social structure, and revealing in many a striking sentence an insight into their deepest convictions and emotions. Such work as this adds greatly to our admiration for one of the most serious writers in the field of American fiction.

**FIELD-PATH AND HIGHWAY.** By E. E. Miller. Birmingham, Alabama: E. E. Miller, 1912,—96 pp. \$ .55 postpaid.

Mr. Miller has written a volume of essays that will make a strong appeal to those who take a delight in the simple things of life. The titles of his graceful sketches are: An Autumn Ride; The Unchanging Love; Not Unavailing; When the Circus Came to Town; A Teller of Tales; The Master's Discipline; For Love of Marjorie; Days of Happiness; The Lure of Tomorrow; and The Chords of Memory. This book is a fit companion for the meditative mood. In the essays one finds tender sentiment, a flavor of quiet humor, and a wholesome out-door atmosphere. The binding of the volume is of green cloth with gold title, and for the right person these essays should make an acceptable gift.

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**THE LAND OF FOOTPRINTS.** By Stewart Edward White. Illustrated. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1912,—x, 440 pp. Net \$1.50.

Again we have an account of a hunting trip in Africa, and one that is well worth reading. Theodore Roosevelt, also of African hunting fame, says that Mr. White's book is "notable" and "first-class," and that as a game-shot with a rifle the author is beyond reproach. Such credentials from a master of the chase certainly establish Mr. White's position in the ranks of the big-game hunters—if he needs to be vouched for. Nor will the reader who never handles a gun find the volume lacking in interest. He can here enjoy in fireside safety adventures with animals at all times interesting and often thrilling. But there is more in Mr. White's book than stories of hunting. Interesting glimpses of the life and customs of the peoples of the districts traversed are given, and many entertaining stories and episodes of this "safari," or hunting expedition, are told—some of them with a strong element of humor. There are about eighty excellent illustrations of African scenery, animals, and natives.





*Title page*



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EDITED BY

W. H. GLASSON AND W. P. FEW

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The  
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New Stories of Lee and Jackson\*

A. R. H. RANSON

Late Major of Artillery, Confederate States Army

I

STORIES OF GENERAL LEE

After the Gettysburg campaign the Army of Northern Virginia took up its position in Culpepper county, Virginia, where it was immediately confronted by the Army of the Potomac under General Meade. As General Longstreet's corps had been detached and had been sent to reinforce General Bragg at Chickamauga, General Lee with only two army corps was in no condition to attack, and General Meade seemed also not disposed to advance. The two armies were simply watching each other. At this juncture of affairs an officer in command of our forces in the Valley of Virginia got news of the movement of large bodies of troops from the West by train to the East, sent by General Grant to reinforce General Meade and enable him to drive General Lee into Richmond.

Thomas D. Ranson, a young soldier in the cavalry, was selected as bearer of dispatches communicating this very important information to General Lee. He was instructed to ride at full speed and to impress relays of horses as fast as his mount broke down. He obeyed instructions, stopping only to change saddles from his broken-down mount to a fresh one, and made the ride of more than a hundred miles in the shortest possible time. When he arrived at General Lee's headquarters it was midnight, and General Lee was in bed and asleep. Young Ranson immediately

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\*Major Ranson was one of General Lee's staff officers. He published in *Harper's Magazine* for February, 1911, a noteworthy article containing his reminiscences of General Lee. It now gives pleasure to the editors of the SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY to publish Major Ranson's additional reminiscences of Lee and also his reminiscences of General Jackson. Copyright, 1913, by A. R. H. Ranson, and all rights reserved.

entered the general's tent, and, awakening him, announced his errand.

General Lee lit a candle and read the dispatches sitting up in bed. Then, asking for the particulars of the young soldier's ride and looking at him and seeing his exhausted condition, the general arose from his bed and compelled the unwilling young man to get into it, and, covering him up with his blankets, told him to go to sleep. General Lee then dressed himself and sat up in his chair until morning.

In the winter of 1864-5, when our army was defending the line from Petersburg to Richmond, I came into camp one evening, after a hard day's work, and found my bed occupied by a young man covered up in my blankets. He was a stranger to me, and I asked the servants the meaning of it. They said he had asked only for Major Ranson's tent, and forthwith had entered and taken possession.

As his face was very red, and as he was sleeping so heavily that I could not awake him, I concluded he had been drinking, although there was no smell of whisky. I sent for Dr. Gild, medical director of the army, who decided that he was not drunk but in typhoid fever. He also had awakened him long enough to learn that he was my nephew John, sixteen years old, whom I had not seen for twelve years. He had come all the way from California to join the army, walking the last 250 miles.

In this dilemma, I went to General Lee. He said promptly: "Enlist him in some battery, and then Dr. Gild can send him to the hospital in Peterburg." This was done, and when spring came John appeared again at my camp. He had gone to the hospital a chubby boy, and was now a tall gaunt man, and voraciously hungry.

As my ration, one-quarter pound of bacon and one pound of flour, was hardly enough for one, I went again to General Lee. He said as promptly as before: "Leave his name and battery with me, and I will order him to report to you as courier, when he can draw his own rations. When he regains his strength, he must go back to duty with his battery." As I had come down from three horses to one on account of scarcity of forage, and therefore could not mount him, John became my courier on foot, the only one I have ever heard of.

About a week after the surrender at Appomattox, General Lee started for his home, accompanied by several of his staff. A company of Federal cavalry had been ordered to escort him to his home. On the first day's ride, General Lee came upon a squad of Confederate soldiers on their way home, resting by the roadside. Stopping and asking where they were going and learning they were from the lower end of the Valley of Virginia, 250 miles distant, and belonged to the Stonewall Brigade, he took out his pocket map and directed them by the shortest and best roads to their homes. Next, bidding them good-bye, he told them they must now be as good and faithful as citizens as they had been as soldiers.

Then, turning to the officer commanding the escort, he said: "Captain, you see I am in my own county and among friends and do not need an escort. I am giving unnecessary trouble and now request you to withdraw your men and rejoin your command." The captain at once went to the rear with his men and left General Lee to go his way unguarded.

General Lee never indulged in the pomp and circumstance of war; his staff was with him always in battle but seldom on any other occasions. He generally in his rides was accompanied by a single courier to hold his horse in case he wished to dismount. For a great general with so extensive a command his staff was the most modest as to rank of any I have known. While the generals of the Federal army had major generals and brigadier generals in abundance as staff officers, not one at General Lee's headquarters had a rank above lieutenant colonel.

Taylor, Marshall, and Venable of his personal staff; Baldwin, chief of ordnance; Cole, chief quartermaster; Corley, chief commissary; Murray, inspector general, were all lieutenant colonels, and Young, judge advocate general, was major. During the winter, 1864-5, without request of General Lee all of these lieutenant colonels were promoted to full colonels. Young became lieutenant colonel, and I became major, but, through some neglect or oversight in the Adjutant General's office in Richmond, the commissions were not forwarded to General Lee and the order of promotion was therefore never published. However, some of these officers drew their pay for the advanced grade.

In the summer of 1867 my wife went to White Sulphur Springs

with her mother, and they occupied a cottage adjoining General Lee's. The general was still wearing his Confederate uniform which had seen so much service in the war, and rode his horse Traveller daily over the mountain paths.

There was much porch visiting between the two families, and one day, while sitting on the porch with my wife, unsolicited and without remark General Lee took out his pocket knife, and cutting off one of the buttons from his coat, gave it to her. In a former article on General Lee, I have told that while standing in the crowded aisle of the church at Orange Court House, Va., my wife had pressed up close behind General Lee and had taken hold of one of the buttons on his coat, and, when asked to explain the act, had said: "I did not think that you or anyone saw it. I merely wished to be able to say, when I went home, that I had touched the hem of his garment."

Now, as I am quite sure that General Lee had no knowledge whatever of the incident at Orange Court House, the coincidence is very singular. At any rate the button came to us at last, and we have it now tied with a blue ribbon on which is written, "Button from General Lee's coat, White Sulphur, August, 1867."

During that summer two Englishmen with their families came to the Springs, attracted by General Lee's presence there. They made his acquaintance and were frequently seen with him in his walks about the place. One day my wife, knowing his aversion to all notoriety, his horror of hero worship, asked the general if these people were not a trouble to him. He said: "Yes, they trouble me a little, but I think I get even with them. When they join me in my walks, I always take them down to the Springs and make them drink the water. They are too polite to refuse, when I hand them the glasses, and I fill them up with that nauseous water, and thus have my revenge."

The wife of one of these Englishmen asked my wife to try and induce General Lee to notice her baby and if possible touch him with his hand. One day General Lee came upon the nurse in the grounds and going up to her took the baby from her and carried it a little way in his arms. The delighted mother, looking on from a distance, exclaimed: "Oh, think what it will mean to my boy when he grows up to be a man, and I tell him General Lee once held him in his arms!"

Mr. Bradford in the *Atlantic Monthly* tells a story of a mother at the White Sulphur, who said to General Lee, "I am bringing up my boy to love the South," and General Lee replied, "Madam, you must do more than that; you must bring him up to love his country."

There was an incident of equal flavor when there came to the Springs that summer a man from West Virginia with his daughter. The man had been a Union man during the war and had remained at home and made a fortune, while the men in the South had gone into the army and had lost all they had. The daughter was very beautiful and very attractive and was more handsomely dressed than any woman at the Springs. But the women would have none of her, and the men, though they would have liked to show her some attention, followed the example of the women from simple fear of their disapprobation, and the girl was very lonely.

One evening, when all the people had gone to the ball, General Lee, in passing through one of the parlors, saw the girl sitting alone by a lamp reading, and going up to her introduced himself and asked for the honor of taking her into the ballroom. Entering the ballroom with the girl on his arm, he joined the gay throng in the grand promenade which always preceded the dancing. When the promenade was over and General Lee led the girl to a seat, there was a general rush for introductions, and from that time on the girl not only had all the partners she wanted but actually became the belle of the season.

There is a great deal of talking on the part of our great men of the day. General Lee was not a talker. He generally talked to only one person when he did talk, never to an audience, and never sermonized; and yet the silent and dignified walk of the man through the world, his purity of character, his devotion to duty, his entire forgetfulness of self and his kindly thoughtfulness of others, present to us a sermon far more eloquent and effective than any we may hear from pulpit or platform.

## II.

### STORIES OF GENERAL JACKSON

Major Jackson came to Lexington and reported for duty at the Virginia Military Institute in 1849, after the close of the War

with Mexico, in which he had distinguished himself as an officer in artillery of the United States Army.

I was a cadet at the time, but, being in the graduating class with which Major Jackson had no duties, I knew him only by sight. I saluted him of course as my superior officer whenever I met him, but I never spoke to him. The cadets had much to say about him, especially the plebes who were very critical. A plebe will criticize anything or anybody. Much has been said about hazing, but moderate hazing is good for a plebe. It is a good thing for a man young or old to learn who he is and what he is, and a plebe must be taught that lesson or he will burst with pride when he beholds himself for the first time in uniform. The foundation of a soldier is subordination of self to authority, unquestioning obedience; and hazing is the beginning of the lesson.

The plebes said Major Jackson was stupid, dull, half asleep. When I saw him in his walks about barracks, he seemed absorbed, his head bent, and his hands often clasped behind his back. He had neither the figure, air, or bearing of a West Point soldier, and this was disappointing to cadets, who prided themselves on their soldierly appearance. What sort of a figure he made as a professor or teacher I have no means of knowing, as I graduated and left the Institute in July, 1849, and did not see him again until the war.

In April, 1861, I was stationed at Harper's Ferry as adjutant of the Second Virginia Infantry, a crack regiment. We were quartered in the buildings in the armory yard and used the grounds for drill, dress parade, and guard mounting, which were our only duties. Time hung heavy on our hands.

One afternoon about four o'clock the long roll was suddenly beaten on orders received by me from headquarters of Colonel Jackson, commanding the forces at Harper's Ferry. The men were in their quarters sleeping, reading and playing cards, amusing themselves after the fashion of idle soldiers in barracks. They came tumbling out in five minutes one thousand strong, all armed and equipped in light marching order, with forty rounds of ammunition to the man.

When I had formed the regiment in line I found that the colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major were all absent. Just then Colonel Jackson rode up and asked, "What regiment?" I replied, "Second

Virginia." "Where is the colonel?" "Absent." "Lieutenant colonel?" "Absent." "The major?" "Absent." "Take the regiment out on the Shepherdstown road."

I put the regiment in motion, and then ran back to Colonel Jackson and asked: "What are we to do when we get on the Shepherdstown road?" "Take the regiment out on the Shepherdstown road; that is enough for you, sir." I was returning to the regiment when he called out to me: "Pursue the road until you meet the enemy."

Here was news which broke the monotony. I hurried to the head of the regiment and put the senior captain in command and repeated Colonel Jackson's words to him. We halted and threw out an advance guard and flankers, and then pursued the road through a terrific thunder storm, arriving at Shepherdstown about nine o'clock. Finding the bridge over the Potomac safe and no enemy in sight, we returned to Harper's Ferry—after having been refreshed with coffee served by the girls—arriving about sunrise the next morning.

I think Colonel Jackson was merely giving us a practice march. In December, 1861, I was in Winchester and Brigadier General Jackson (then "Stonewall," a soubriquet given him by General Lee at Manassas, when he said to his men to encourage them, "Look at Jackson's Brigade, standing like a stone wall"), was there in command of all the troops in the Valley.

Hearing that while a prisoner at Beverly, West Virginia, in June, 1861, and in bad health, his sister, Mrs. Arnold, had taken me into her house out of the Federal hospital which was filled with typhoid, and had cared for me until I recovered my health, he expressed a wish to see me. I called on him on a Sunday, and, sending in my name, was ushered in. He was quartered in one of the old fashioned dwellings of the town, and the room in which he had established himself as headquarters was scantily furnished and comfortless in appearance. There were a table, a camp desk, and two or three wooden chairs. On the table was one book, a Bible. The desk was closed, and not a scrap of paper was anywhere visible.

The general was standing with his back to the fire when I entered. He was extraordinarily well dressed. I think he had on his old blue professor's coat and a clean "biled" shirt, and his

boots had been blacked. He advanced to meet me with a quick movement, and seemed to me to be on the point of being effusive, a trait I had never heard of his possessing. However, he confined himself to shaking my hand so long that I did not know how to get it away from him, and the situation was becoming embarrassing to me, when he espied my cap in my other hand. This he seized at once, and, after we had both tugged at it for a while, I surrendered it. But when he got it he did not seem to know what to do with it. Looking all around the room and seeing no nail or hook to hang it on, he walked to the mantelpiece, a high old-fashioned wooden one, with figures in relief on it, and placed it carefully exactly in the center.

Returning to me he asked me to be seated, and then asked me about his sister. There was not much to say. I told him of her kindness to me and of my thankfulness, and that seemed to me to be the end of it, particularly as he asked no questions; in fact, remained perfectly silent.

As I was at the end of my subject and had only been with him a few minutes, I began to tell him something of the campaign in West Virginia which had ended so disastrously. I thought he would be interested as a soldier, and particularly as the campaign had been in his own neighborhood and he was therefore familiar with the features of the country, but I did not get very far into my story before I saw a far away look in his face which I recognized as an unfailing sign that he was not listening, and I immediately got up from my seat to take leave of him.

There had been so much ceremony attending my entrance that I supposed there would be more or less of it at my departure, but I was mistaken. He seemed to be absorbed in something foreign to this interview. I think he had forgotten who I was, and why I had called. He sat still in his chair and allowed me unmolested to take my cap from the mantelpiece; then, rising and following me silently to the door, bowed and closed it behind me.

In this entire interview the only words spoken by General Jackson were, "Be seated," and "Tell me about my sister." He spoke no word of greeting as I entered the room, he asked no question, and he spoke no word at my departure. The interview had not lasted more than ten minutes; I had said nothing of his sister except that she was in good health when I saw her and had been

very kind. I had said nothing of the Rich Mountain fight except as to the utter defencelessness of the position from a strategic standpoint, things which I thought would interest any soldier, and yet in those few minutes he had changed from an almost effusive host to an absorbed and indifferent superior officer, and I have never become sufficiently acquainted with his character to account satisfactorily to myself for the change.

(It has been suggested that I had broken his sabbatarian rules; but he had sent for me on Sunday, had admitted me on Sunday, after my card had been given him, and had been more than cordial in his manner (not in words, for there were none) at the outset. Of course, there is an explanation, and men who were familiar with him, lived with him, and knew him well, will possibly be able to give it. But, as I had only three interviews with him in his whole life, it must remain a mystery to me until an explanation is given me.)

In 1862 I had my third and last interview with General Jackson. I had reported for duty to General Lee on the field of the battle of Sharpsburg. The general told me he had work for me at his headquarters and would give me my written orders the next day, and that I must come back to his headquarters for them.

The army recrossed the Potomac that night, and I found his headquarters about four miles northwest of Shepherdstown early the next morning. While Colonel Chilton was preparing the orders for the day in the Adjutant General's tent, which had an opening out of General Lee's tent, I waited in General Lee's tent for more than two hours. His tent was pitched in a peach orchard, and the farmer had brought him a hamper of peaches, more than a bushel. Lieutenant-General Jackson came up on foot, looking much like a rugged old farmer himself, and bringing with him a soldier. He accosted General Lee, saying he had brought him a prisoner. General Jackson was standing outside the tent with his prisoner, and General Lee went out and took a look at the pair, and smiling said: "What is the man's offence?" "Stealing peaches." General Lee told the man to help himself out of his basket and go back to his command.

General Lee, after the man had gone, came back into the tent and went on with his business of dictating orders to Colonel Chilton. General Jackson sat down on a camp stool at the door

of the tent beside the basket of peaches, and, taking out an old clasp knife, he proceeded to peel and eat more peaches than I believed any man could eat.

Since I had last seen him in Winchester in 1861, he had conducted his brilliant campaign in the Valley, had taken part in the battles of Malvern Hill, Cedar Mountain, and Second Manassas, had compelled the surrender of Harper's Ferry with ten thousand men and seventy-five pieces of artillery, and had then taken part in the second day's fighting at Sharpsburg.

(At Winchester he was quite well dressed, but now no one would have taken him for a general officer. His clothes were faded and soiled until they were the color of the ground, and his boots were the same. His face was sunburnt and his beard unkempt; his grey cap scarcely covered the top of his head, did not shade his nose, and was the same color as his soiled and faded uniform.)

(Sitting at the door of General Lee's tent and peeling and eating peaches, I do not believe he was conscious of what he was doing; for he seemed absorbed in something else and talked the whole time with General Lee about the military situation and outlook. Then it was I began to know that he was not a mere blunderer (as many had supposed early in the war), but that under his most unmilitary appearance there was concealed the acme of military courage—stronger in defeat than in victory, and a mind wholly absorbed in a soldier's work.)

My old home was only four miles distant, and I thought I knew every path about me, but, in following Jackson's plans and the disposition of his corps, I found that he knew more of the features of the neighborhood than I did—that every ford on the river was guarded and every arrangement made to crush McClellan should he attempt to cross, and that the slouching, ill-dressed figure quietly peeling peaches was the great corps commander and brilliant strategist of the war. I also found out something then which was afterward an especial explanation to me of General Lee's words to Jackson after he had fallen at Chancellorsville by the fearful error of his own men: "General, you have lost your left arm but I have lost my right arm." For in that long interview there was not one suggestion made by General Jackson concerning the disposition of the whole army which was not accepted by General Lee and at once communicated to Colonel Chilton to be incorporated in the orders for the day.

After being present at that interview between these two greatest generals, I saw a great deal of General Lee and was present at interviews between him and several of his general officers, but I have never found him on such a footing with any of them as seemed to have been established with General Jackson. I have never seen General Lee unbend as he did then, have never seen him show such implicit confidence and cordiality.

As a rule, General Lee would retreat when abruptly approached, would be careful in his quiet, dignified way to protect himself without being repellent; but, when Jackson would shoot out his suggestions in sharp, short sentences, General Lee listened, weighed them in his own mind, and adopted them. It was not like a conference between general officers; it was more like a consultation between brothers who knew each other and trusted each other.

No wonder General Lee spoke of the loss of his "right arm" in terms of dismay, for he never found any one to replace Jackson. No wonder he could not replace him; for there was not another Jackson, certainly not in the South, probably not in all the world. What effect the fall of Jackson had upon the result of the war is a matter of opinion only, and all speculation is useless. But yet it is permissible to believe that if Jackson had lived there would have been another and a different tale to tell of Gettysburg.

## Portrait of a Saint

GAMALIEL BRADFORD, JR.,

Author of "Lee the American"

Francis de Sales was a man who, of his own choice, gave up all the good things of this world out of pure love for the kingdom of God. Born in 1567, the eldest son of a rich and noble French family, with every career of arms or state open to him, he chose the priesthood, and without the use of political influence or intrigue, simply by purity, devotion, and a charming power over souls, became a bishop infinitely beloved, and was duly canonized after his death. Few have better deserved sainthood.

The life of Saint Francis has been obscured by numerous hagiographers with the pious incense of spiritual legend. But one disciple, Camus, Bishop of Belley, has left us a study, *L'Esprit de Saint François de Sales*, which portrays the saint in his daily life almost with the patience and fidelity of a Boswell. Indeed, in some respects, Boswell is outdone; for Camus tells us that when his idol visited him, in order to get more exact material for his record, he bored a hole through into Francis's room, and watched his actions even when he thought himself alone. This is an extreme biographical solicitude to which I do not read that Dr. Johnson was subjected. Perhaps he would not have come out quite so well as Saint Francis is reported to have done.

But far more valuable than such gossipy external observation is Saint Francis's own writing, his numerous sermons and treatises, and the intimate personal letters of which a vast number have been preserved.

First, for the shadows, such as they are. It was a bitter time. The battles of the Reformation were fighting everywhere, and both sides were tempted to resort to words and deeds that our cooler—and less believing—age can hardly tolerate. Francis, as bishop in the neighborhood of Protestant Geneva, was drawn into some actions and more words that we are very far from approving. But everything shows that, for his time, he was mild and tolerant, and really cherished the spirit of his own beautiful sentence, written in later life: "He who preaches with love really preaches enough against the heretics, though he does not utter one word of controversy."

In dealing with these practical sides of the divine calling, Sainte-Beuve justly points out that Francis shows the business instincts of a man of the world. He was no recluse, no shy and quiet scholar. He could mingle with men, and influence them, and guide them in every day pursuits. He even complains of the distraction this brought upon him. "The affairs of this diocese are not streams but torrents." When he was sent to Paris for things semi-political, semi-religious, he so demeaned himself that Henri Quatre, that supreme man of the world, spoke of him and treated him with as much affection as respect. If necessary, he could recall high persons to their duty with prophetic sternness, as when he reminded the Duke of Savoy that princes were bound to give great thought to great measures, "on pain of eternal damnation."

It must not be supposed, however, that he was one of the busy, meddling prelates who long to arrange matters of this world as well as of the other. On the contrary, I have sought far for even subtle and indirect evidence of such ambition and have found none. He went into the world for duty. For delight he gladly and often went out of it.

In other words, he was pre-eminently a man of the spirit, a man to whom God meant everything. Not that he was a great theologian. He read widely and the Fathers thoroughly. His own treatise, *De l' Amour de Dieu*, contains much subtle theological discussion, which some may find of profit; but he is always glad to break away from difficult problems and the vain effort to search out the unsearchable. "Poor little insect," he says to his own understanding, "poor little insect, bred from the corruption of my flesh, why will you scorch your wings at this immense fire of divine omnipotence, which would consume and devour the seraphim, if they thrust themselves into such expense of curiosity? No, poor butterfly, thy business is to be lost in adoration, and not to dangle thy plummet in the deep."

This is the mystic's self-abandonment. Saint Francis took to it far more kindly than to the debates of Augustine and Aquinas. The treatise above mentioned is full of mystical ecstasy, drenched with it, and Francis's letters contain many passages even more significant in their high-wrought rapture and their absolute submission to the will of God. "Keeping my soul forever in His di-

vine presence, with a joy not over-impetuous, but, as it seems to me, rich enough to express a perfect love to Him; for nothing in this world is worth our love; it should be all for that Saviour who has given us all of His."

But the essential characteristic of Saint Francis's religion was neither theology nor ecstasy, but sunshine. His heart was simple, and to the simple is given the supreme heritage of joy. He did not, indeed, wholly claim this for himself. "I am, to be sure, by no means simple, but I love simplicity with an extraordinary love." He was simpler than he thought, and pure, and straightforward, and direct.

He was humble, also, did not exalt himself even by the assumption of humility. "Humility, simplicity of heart and of affection, and spiritual submission, are the solid foundations of the religious life." So he wrote, so he thought, and his practice bore out the letter of his teaching.

Above all, in his simplicity and in his humility he had charm. The adjective that occurs most frequently in his writings, that occurs with a singular, penetrating, impressive repetition, is *suave*, which we must free from all its English associations of insincerity and keep only in its primitive significance, of grace, gentleness, sweetness, tenderness. "Let us be saved with our amiable relative, Saint Francis de Sales," writes Madame de Sévigné. "He leads people to Paradise by a pleasanter road than the gentlemen of Port Royal." And one of the great controversialists of the Reformation indicated admirably the same thing: "If it is only a question of convincing, I can do it; but if you want to convert men, take them to the Bishop of Geneva, who has received that gift from God."

The secret of this was, that back of the suavity, giving it breadth and depth and truth, lay the tenderest and kindest humanity. Here was a man at all points tempted as we are, whose own struggles and victories and even more, failures, give him infinite charity for the failures of others. There is never anywhere in Saint Francis tolerance of sin; but there is an inexhaustible tolerance and patience and sympathy for sinners.

And there is further, what one surely does not look for in a canonized saint, but what adds a fine flower to the saint's grace and charm, a rich and joyous gayety which sometimes broadens

into laughter. In the *Introduction to the Devout Life* Saint Francis, though reprehending all uncharitable mockery, permits and encourages light and kindly humor; and he himself does not hesitate to practice his own precept, even in his spiritual letters. "Reverend mother, you should live before God in entire gayety of heart," he writes to Madame de Chantal. And how winning is the gentle irony with which he dissuades an ardent novice from excess of devotion. "My dear daughter, we must allow ourselves repose, enough repose, be kind enough to leave some labor to others, and not try to get all the crowns ourselves: our beloved neighbor will be charmed to have a few."

This suavity, this charity, this large humanity, together with boundless tact and grace in handling souls, made Saint Francis probably one of the most skilful and successful spiritual directors that the Catholic Church has ever known, and it is in this aspect of his activity that the study of him is most interesting and most profitable. As to the value of such direction there has always been dispute and there always will be. Its dangers are obvious. No human soul can wholly take the burden of another. Yet every human soul has moments when it craves all the guidance and comfort that another soul can give it. Few have understood better than Saint Francis how to take advantage of these moments and make the comfort and the guidance lasting.

How far he influenced and governed men I cannot tell. His letters to them, except those of pure business or courtesy, are comparatively few. I cannot help thinking that some rebuff from the sterner sex occasioned one of his very rare expressions of discouragement: "It is wonderful what power the fashions of this world have over mankind, and it seems hopeless to try to remedy this. If you hold up to them hell and damnation, they hide behind the goodness of God. If you press them, they leave you right where you stand." Now and then he writes to some young nobleman, urging upon him the care of his soul. One answers, like Calchas in *La Belle Hélène*, that his natural vocation is to enjoy himself. Ah, says the saint, listen to me and virtue will become a second nature stronger than the first. I wonder if the young man listened. To another, Francis represents the value of the right use of time, and that some portion of the day at least should be given to prayer and meditation; at any

rate, none to reading the fashionable follies of the hour, such as "that infamous Rabelais." And we are reminded of Valentin, the young friend of Goncourt. "Valentin had only two books: a Bible of which he read a little every morning, a Rabelais, of which he read a little every night." With all this, however, it must be remembered that our saint had the infinite respect of men of all classes and characters and that not a few of them came to him in trouble and sorrow and were comforted.

But unquestionably it was women who most often sought help and obtained it. As to his personal relations with them, it is hardly necessary to say that no word of reproach or suspicion is possible. His affection for Madame de Chantal was as pure as it was lofty. Their correspondence, carried on for many years, is one of the most beautiful examples of a spiritual relation mutually elevating, sustaining, and inspiring. With women generally he is said to have urged and to have himself practised the most scrupulous regard for propriety and reserve, making it a rule never to speak to any woman except with a third person present in the room. Also he sets, perhaps half humorously, a rigorous prescription for letters: "When one writes to a woman one ought, if it were possible, to use the point of a penknife, instead of a pen, so as to be sure to say nothing superfluous." Although, as Sainte-Beuve, who quotes this, points out, with his usual charming naïveté he often forgets his own precept and wanders where it takes a swift and current pen to follow him.

In all his counsels to women it is interesting to note not only the high and stimulating impulse to spiritual intensity, but also the delicate restraining hand where spiritual intensity might be carried to excess. No one is more eager than he to urge the religious life upon those who are fit for it, ready for it. To a young girl whose parents are persuading her to marry for the sake of marriage he says: "Those who are naturally inclined to marry and are married happily find so much occasion for patience and for self-denial that they can hardly bear the burden; how should you bear it, when you have entered it against your will?" Yet in other cases he points out that the parent's wish should be thought of first, that domestic duties have their claim, and that a mother's love, although it sometimes seems tormenting, should be considered and respected before everything but the command of God.

Even to small matters of feminine frivolity he brings an affectionate touch of common-sense. It is a pity to dress too daintily but it is better to dress daintily than to worry about dressing daintily. "Tell her to powder her hair, if she likes, so long as her heart is right; for the thing is not worth so much thinking about. Don't get your thoughts entangled among these spider-webs. The hairs of this girl's spirit are more snarled up than those of her head." And although no one knows better than he the depth and power and richness of a woman's soul, there are times when he feels called upon to insist upon her weakness to an extent that would make the new woman somewhat restless. "Your sex needs to be led, and never succeeds in any enterprise but by submission; not that you have not oftentimes as much light as men, but such is the will of God."

It is already sufficiently evident what fine observation, what delicate insight, what acute comparison and distinction were needed to practice the art of soul-direction as Saint Francis practiced it. Everywhere through his writings are scattered reflections and comments as subtle as those of La Rochefoucault or La Bruyère, the profound wisdom of a man who has walked through this cruel and bitter world with eyes well open and not always turned upward. "Everybody finds it easy to practice certain virtues and hard to practice others, and everybody exalts the virtue which he can practice easily and seeks to exaggerate the difficulty of the virtues which are difficult to him." Of the obstinate and stiff-necked he says: "Thus we see that it is a natural thing to be dominated by one's opinions: melancholy persons are ordinarily much more attached to them than those who are of a gay and jovial disposition; for the latter are easily turned by a light finger and ready to believe whatever is told them." And the following shows with what a quick, sharp probe he went right to the bottom of a tormenting spiritual malady as haunting today as three hundred years ago. "Mark these four words that I am going to say to you: your trouble comes from your fearing vice more than you love virtue. If you could give your soul from the very roots to the desire for practical religion, for loving-kindness, and for true humility, you would soon be an acceptable Christian, but you must think of these things all the time."

Mere insight, however, would have carried the saint but little

way in his spiritual labors. Far more important was his sympathy, his power of putting himself in others' places, his infinite love. There is nothing of remote austerity about him, nothing of judicial coldness. He never hesitates to admit his own frailty, his own temptation, his own failures. Has his patient—for what is he but a physician of the soul?—the disease of restlessness? He too has known the evil. "May it not perhaps be a multitude of desires that obstructs your spirit? I myself have been ill of this malady. The bird tied to its perch knows itself to be bound and feels the shock of its detention only when it essays to fly away." Or, as the *Imitation* expresses it, with its inimitable and untranslatable grace, *Cella continuata dulcesit, sed male custodita taedium generat.* And what can be more charming than his confession, after years of ecclesiastical dignity, of the momentary spectre, the intrusive and quickly banished shadow of human regret? "Alas, my daughter, shall I tell you what happened to me the other day? Never in my life before have I had a single hint of temptation against my devout calling. But the other day, when I was least looking for it, such a thing came into my mind, not the wish that I did not belong to the church, that would have been too gross; but because just before, talking with an intimate friend, I had said that if I were still free and were to become heir to a duchy, I should nevertheless choose the ecclesiastical profession, I loved it so much, a little debate arose in my soul, of should I or should I not, which lasted quite a space of time. I could see it, it seemed to me, way, way down in the baser portion of my soul, swelling like a toad. I laughed at it and would not even think whether I was thinking of it. So it went away in smoke and I saw it no more." Would not you and I, who have our own toads crouching in dark corners, if we were to have a confessor at all, wish for a confessor like that?

So, on such a foundation of vast understanding and human sympathy, Saint Francis built up a method of spiritual direction which was all compact of charity and tenderness. For high and low alike he had the same breadth of comprehension, allowed for their failings and appreciated their difficulties. Rare indeed in the seventeenth century is the humanity which would deprive the rich of their pleasures out of consideration for the poor. "It is not reasonable that anybody should take his recreation at the ex-

pense of anyone else, and especially by injuring the poor peasant, who is sufficiently oppressed at all times and whose labor and miserable condition we should always respect." Everywhere in Saint Francis's writings there is the same consideration for weakness and wretchedness, the same desire to make the world better by pity rather than by scorn. Even where scorn is necessary, it should be restrained and moderated. Some things should be treated with contempt, "but the contempt should be subdued and serious, not mocking nor full of disdain."

But let us look more nearly at some aspects of Saint Francis's spiritual labors. To begin with, he was essentially practical, at times almost homely, did not by any means overstress meditation or pure devotion at the expense of everyday virtue. He insists usually upon truth with the strictest emphasis. "I am comforted," he says, in his quaint phraseology, "to find that you have a horror of all finesse and duplicity; for there is no vice more contrary to the *embonpoint* and grace of the soul." It is true, he permits rare and professional exception. "If anybody asks you whether you have told something that you have told under the sacred seal of confession, you may assert boldly, and with no fear of duplicity, that you have not." But, in general, he stands as firm for entire truthfulness as any teacher of any age or country.

On the practice of little virtues he is charming. Not all can be saints, not all can teach or preach, not all can attain that glory which is perhaps as much of a false allurement in the things of virtue as in the things of vice. But there is plenty that all can do. "More than any others, I love these three little virtues, gentleness of heart, poverty of spirit, simplicity of life; also these common deeds of charity, visiting the sick, aiding the poor, comforting the afflicted, and the like. But do these things without feverish anxiety and in the true freedom of the spirit."

It is on this freedom of the spirit that he insists as much as upon anything. Do not fret, do not be anxious, do not be falsely careful. The service of God is a joyous service. Over and over again he repeats these admonitions, which, with Madame de Chantal, were apparently very needful. Now he uses a homely vivacity of phrase, which recalls Montaigne: "Heavens, daughter, I wish the skin of your heart were tougher, that the fleas

might not keep you waking." Now he speaks with a grave tenderness which must have brought comfort to many a weary sinner. "We ought to hate our faults, but with a hatred which should be quiet and tranquil, not spiteful and full of restlessness." Now his joyous fancy sings out in a burst of good cheer, the delicate melody of which is quite untranslatable: *Laissez courir le vent et ne pensez pas que le frifilis des feuilles soit le cliquetis des armes.*

It seems hardly necessary to point out that these practical matters are not all, or even the essential part, of St. Francis's teaching. Through his letters, through his sermons, through his treatises, everywhere runs the passionate insistence upon the joy of spiritual rapture, upon the splendor, the perfection, the all-absorbing ecstasy of communion with God. It does not appear that Saint Theresa herself felt this more fully or proclaimed it more frequently. Only here, as always, Saint Francis shows his serene common sense. Ecstasy is much, he urges, but in our human life on this dusty earth it cannot be all. There are common duties from the performance of which no ecstasy can set us free. "If it pleases God to let us taste of these angelic experiences, we will do our best to receive them worthily; meantime, let us devote ourselves simply and humbly to the little virtues which our Lord has commended to our effort and care."

And as there are times when the sweetest and purest souls cannot rise above themselves, cannot shake off the dust of earth, are overcome and overwhelmed by shadow and despair, or by that dead inertia which is almost worse than despair, for these times especially Saint Francis is ready with consolation, ready with encouragement, ready with hope. Above all, he thinks, souls so cast down should not be chidden or reproved. Let them know, he urges all confessors, let them know that you too are human and have erred and suffered even as they. "If, for example, you see one who is bowed down by remorse and shame, give him confidence and assurance that you are not an angel any more than he, that you find it in no way wonderful that a mere man should sin." For those hours of wayward depression, which come without cause and vanish without warning, he has his own grace of tender reassurance. Do not strive too much, do not battle too much. Wait and hope and pray patiently for the

goodness of God. And he analyzes such dark phases with a subtlety which shows that he knew well what he was talking about. "The evil sadness comes upon you like a hail storm with an unlooked for change and a vast impetuosity of terror. It comes all at once and you know not whence it comes, for it has no foundation in reason; nay, when it has come, it hunts about everywhere for reasons to justify itself. But the sweet and fruitful sadness comes gently upon the soul, like a soft rain which moistens blessedly, bringing the warmth of consolation; and it comes not unheralded, but for a good and sufficient cause."

The reader cannot but have noticed already that Francis was not only a saint, but a great writer, and as with other great writers, his manner of writing is most significantly characteristic of the man himself. To be sure, he maintains that a preacher should put aside all thought of mere expression and modestly disclaims any literary effort on his own part. "I make no pretense of being a writer; for the sluggishness of my wit and the circumstances of my life—make such a thing impossible for me." Yet it is permitted to doubt, with Saint-Beuve, whether so exquisite a master of words did not take some pleasure in the use of them. Moreover, while denying to the preacher the privilege of literary artifice, Francis enjoins upon him the most careful employment of literary art as an exquisite and powerful means of moving souls. The distinction is sometimes a little hard to draw. But in the following admirable passage he states it clearly: "In a word, you should speak affectionately and devoutly, simply and candidly, and with a firm faith; you should be profoundly possessed by the doctrine you teach and by all that you wish to impress upon others. The greatest artifice of all is to have no artifice . . . You may say what you please, but the heart speaks to the heart, while mere words reach the ears only." Elsewhere he defends the use of figurative expression. "One word should be said about similitudes, they have an incredible efficiency in illuminating the understanding and in touching the will . . . Similitudes from little things, subtly applied, are of extreme utility."

In thus justifying figures of speech, he was justifying himself, as he well knew. For his own style is simple, quaint, tender, at times lofty and solemn; but what distinguishes it most is the extraordinary richness of imaginative suggestion, of similes drawn

from every phase of nature and human life. Flowers, doves, bees, he is never weary of ringing the changes on them. It might be thought, perhaps, that the reader would weary; but he does not. There is such constant freshness of handling, such variety of detail, such an unfailing sense of the spiritual bearing of all these symbols, that you rejoice in each new one blossoming amid doctrinal discussions, as if it were a delicate flower in a barren plain.

And it is to be noted that the charm of these poetical digressions does not come from exact observation. Saint Francis is no Keats, no Thoreau, to spend hours watching the balance of a bird on a wind-tossed spray. Sometimes you get the impression that he has forgotten even prayer in listening to an autumn wind, or has enjoyed a golden morning just for itself, as when he says of doves "their plumage is always smooth and it does you good to see them in the sunshine." But generally his natural world—for that matter, like a good part of Shakespeare's, his exact contemporary—is taken from Pliny, from Virgil, from old books and quaint scholastics, from anything but God's blessed sky and the land and water under it. Phoenixes, unicorns, and salamanders play a large part in his menagerie, and his botany is too often in a class with Falstaff's camomile: "Honors, rank, dignities are like the saffron plant, which the more it is trodden on, the faster it grows."

Yet genius and sincerity can make even wax flowers blossom, and Saint Francis draws from everything profit and help and comfort for the souls whose guidance is, after all, his great and only care. What a light, what a charm, what a winning, winged grace attaches to his words, when he speaks of "marks of the love of God, signs of his good pleasure in our souls. *He nests in the hawthorne of our hearts.*"

What strikes me very much in the life and work of Saint Francis is the immense opportunity for the psychologist. One who has come to consider that nothing is so widely curious, so inexhaustibly fascinating as the study of the human soul, grows almost envious of such a field for purely scientific investigation. When the saint writes, "I have met several souls, which, *closely examined*, offered nothing that I could consider sin," what psychologist in his laboratory can often feel that souls have been *closely examined* in such a sense as that?

But great as the delight of such examination would be, it is easy to see how the saint could find a delight much greater. Indeed, he himself condemns the scientific pleasure of the psychologist as dangerous, if not impious. "Many indulge in rash judgments for the pleasure of philosophizing and divining the characters of people as a mere intellectual exercise. If, by chance, they manage to hit the truth, their audacity and appetite for more increase so much, that it is almost impossible to turn them from the pursuit."

In some of us the appetite and the audacity increase forever. But Saint Francis had interests even more absorbing. With him the object was not to know souls merely, but to help souls, to save souls. The direction of souls to him is "the art of arts." And who will differ from him? Simply to watch, to divine the play of secret springs in the inner life, is exquisite enough. But to use one's cunning sapience to mould souls as if they were wax, to bring light out of darkness, joy out of bitterness, comfort out of great trouble, and a pure and perfect flower out of what seemed a mass of corruption, could any human triumph be greater than this?

# Our Taxation Problem

CHARLES LEE RAPER

Professor of Economics and Dean of the Graduate School, University of North Carolina

Many of our citizens are permanently interested—at least they fancy they are—in matters of taxation by the national congress. Their interest in federal taxation has been so continuously important, that the political parties have deemed it the act of political wisdom to proclaim every four years their taxation policies, at least in regard to that form of taxation known as the tariff. Upon the question of internal taxation by the nation—the excise duties on tobaccos, liquors, etc., and the income duties—there has been little widespread interest. Popular interest in taxation by the state and its smaller divisions—the county, the municipality, the school or highway district—has been until very recently as permanently insignificant as that in certain forms of taxation by the nation has been vitally important. What are the reasons? Why, for instance, has the North Carolina citizen been excited, at least in every presidential year, over the tariff—the tax which he pays to the nation? Why has he taken little or no public interest in that which he pays to his own local forms of government?

It is not my purpose in this paper to give the explanation. Whatever the reasons, the fact is, I think, of vital importance. It in large measure explains why we have continued to have in North Carolina, as has been the case in many of our states—in fact, in most of our states—an astonishingly ineffective and unjust system of taxation. Popular interest in taxation by the state of North Carolina and by its local forms of government is, however, rapidly being awakened. This interest became important during the regular session of the legislature from January to March, 1913. The fact of the existence of practically a million dollars deficit in the state treasury and the widespread demand that the state should enable every elementary school to be in effective session for at least six months in every year—these facts, in which the people generally took a vital interest, became potent ones. They gave force to the arguments of those who have for a number of years been systematically interested in remaking our system of the assessment of property for taxation for the purpose of making it more productive of revenue, which the expanding wants of the

state for effective elementary education, highways, public health, etc., have demanded, and more productive of justice among the tax payers. The citizenship of North Carolina came to be interested in taxation as it has rarely been. It would listen to speeches on taxation; the mayors of the towns held conferences devoted to taxation; newspapers would give large space to the facts and discussions of taxation; the report of the state treasurer was widely read: there was much discussion as to the meaning of "pauper counties"—those which receive more from the state in services or money than they pay into the state treasury; the large report of the state corporation commission acting as a state tax commission was talked about; even the constitution of the state as it dealt with revenue and taxation came for the first time in more than a generation to be talked about by others than the student and the constitutional lawyer.

What then is our taxation system, about which there is for the present at least much popular interest? What should it be?

The taxation system of the state is the product of the constitution and the statutes—whatever the constitution allows the legislature to create and whatever the legislature within its constitutional powers actually provides. Some of the defects of the system are due to the constitutional limitation placed upon the power of the legislature to create, and some are clearly due to a failure of the legislature to use the power which its possesses—the failure to provide the machinery for the accurate and just assessment of property for taxation purposes.

An investigation into the constitutional limits which are placed upon the legislative power to levy taxes reveals at once the fact that the poll tax was by our constitution of 1868 and 1876 established as the standard tax for the state and the counties for all their ordinary purposes of government. This standard tax was also limited as to its rate. For ordinary purposes, the total of the poll dues by the state and the county cannot exceed \$2.00. Not only is the rate of the poll tax for ordinary purposes restricted, but that of the property tax is also restricted. The equation that one poll tax by the state and county for ordinary purposes (a maximum of \$2.00) shall always equal the tax levied by the state and county for ordinary purposes on property assessed at \$300, is absolute. For the occasional purpose of defending the

state treasury against a casual deficit or of repelling an invasion, the state may itself exceed the \$2.00 limit, and for special purposes the county may levy practically any rate upon polls its officers may deem necessary.

The fear that our fathers in 1868 had, when by their constitution they made the poll the compulsory standard tax, and when they established for the ordinary purposes of state and county administration an absolute equation between the poll tax and the tax on general property, may have been well grounded. There may have been at that time a real reason for such a system—to protect the native white citizen as a taxpayer from the newly enfranchised blacks and from the newly arrived citizens from the North who were in full sympathy with the negroes as against the native whites. The reason, whatever it may have been in 1868, has absolutely disappeared by this time. There is no longer a vital reason to maintain a compulsory poll tax, especially as the standard of the general property tax. The fact that the proceeds of the state and county poll tax must be exclusively devoted to education and the support of the poor does not make the reason any more cogent. There is no political reason to be found in the fear that the native white will not control the legislature and, through it, the rate of taxation on property, should the constitutional limitation be abolished. There is no economic reason for a compulsory poll tax. Such a tax no longer represents the citizen's ability to pay—the truest principle of taxation—or the benefits derived from the government. The legislature should, therefore, no longer be required to levy such a tax; it might, upon its discretion, continue to do it as a matter of practical expediency. Such a tax is just only when the citizens of a state or locality are, in their ability to pay, equal to each other. Such equality may have existed in the past; it certainly does not exist now among advanced peoples. Because of this fact, the poll tax has practically disappeared except in the states of the United States.

The political and economic reasons for a compulsory poll tax in North Carolina have disappeared. The constitutional limit to the rate of this tax for state and county purposes has been nullified in actual practice. The ordinary and extraordinary purposes of government have been more or less merged by the state, notably by the county; for many years the \$2 limit, as fixed by

the constitution, for state and county purposes has amounted to practically nothing. The range of the poll tax for the state and county combined for 1911 was from \$1.80 in Martin County to \$3.50 in Dare. The municipal poll tax was, of course, extra—from 15 cents in Lawndale to \$4.65 in Asheville. Since the poll duty for state and county purposes in Buncombe was in 1911 \$2, the citizen of Asheville had to pay in this year as poll tax a total of \$6.65. That each tax payer must make this equally large contribution to the government under which he lives, regardless of how small or great his ability to pay, is, I think, a striking though not exceptional illustration of the injustice of the North Carolina poll tax.

The poll tax in North Carolina, while the constitution makes it the standard tax, is not, however, a very important source of revenue; the revenue to the state and counties from this source in 1911 was only \$518,126. The maximum limit which the constitution places upon the rate on general property for the ordinary purposes of state and county is 66 and 2-3 cents on the \$100. This limit, as well as that for the poll tax for ordinary purposes, has come to mean little, since the county has more and more needs that may be classed as extraordinary or as ordinary. Special taxes have frequently been levied upon general property, and not infrequently for purposes that might just as well be grouped as ordinary or extraordinary. The ordinary purposes of government and the special purposes have been by no means clearly differentiated. The limit as set by the constitution of North Carolina to protect the tax payer has in many cases been regularly set aside or overleaped. The range of the tax on general property for the state and county was in 1911 as low as 60 cents on the \$100 in Martin County and as high as \$1.43 in Mitchell. The municipal tax on general property is, of course, an extra levy, and the range of its rate is large. In 1911 the lowest was 8 cents in Hassell, the highest \$1.75 in Canton. The rate for state and county purposes combined in Haywood County, in which Canton is situated, was in 1911 \$1.10—making a total for the citizen of Canton of \$2.85 on the \$100.

The constitutional limit to the rate on general property should, therefore, be abolished. The citizens by a simple majority vote may now exceed it whenever they wish to do so for special pur-

poses of government. To make the school and the highways, for which most of the special taxes are levied, more effective is not in the real logic of government a special function. It is today more permanently important than to provide an army for defense; it is as vitally important and permanent as the maintenance of efficient and permanent courts of justice. Many of our states have no constitutional limit to the rate on general property. The citizen is willing to leave the rate to the discretion of his legislator, who, for the sake of re-election to the general assembly, or for the sake of some other public office, if not indeed for the sake of low taxes upon his own property, is sufficiently eager to work for as low a rate as is practicable. If such states as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Kansas, need no constitutional limitation, why should North Carolina?

Our poll tax is collected with comparative efficiency and justice; not many of our citizens are able to escape the assessment of their poll. The general property tax is, on the other hand, notably ineffective and unjust. There are a number of reasons for this, among which are, I think, the constitutional requirement of a uniform rate on all forms of general property and the fact that the legislature has failed to provide effective state and county machinery for assessment.

The constitution of North Carolina says that "laws shall be passed taxing, by uniform rule, all moneys, credits, investments in bonds, stocks, joint stock companies, or otherwise; and also all real and personal property, according to its true value in money." This means that the state and each local community—county, township or town—must tax all general property by the same rate, regardless of the nature of the property. It does not, of course, prevent one of the local communities from levying one rate and another local community another rate. This rigid constitutional requirement of a uniform *ad valorem* rate explains in part the remarkable ineffectiveness and injustice in our system of taxing general property. This provision, I think, should be abolished, and the legislature should have the right to make a reasonable classification of general property for purposes of taxation. To tax all kinds of property at a uniform rate is most assuredly unfair unless the values of all its forms are with equal accuracy put upon the assessor's books. And it may reasonably be doubted

whether such a rate is fair when the assessment is made with practical perfection. Is it not true that kinds of property differ in their values and in their relationships to the community in which they are situated and to the government to which they owe their contribution? Whether this difference is sufficiently real and vital as to necessitate a differentiation as to the rate levied or not, no one can doubt the difference in property as to its tangibility to the assessor. All agree that some forms of property are more easily put upon the assessor's books and that other forms are put upon these books with much uncertainty and difficulty. The uniform *ad valorem* rate falls, without doubt, more heavily upon the taxpayer whose mind and conscience are more tangible and upon the more tangible forms of property. The citizen whose property is less tangible, as a rule, does damage to his conscience and to his duty to his community; our present machinery is so notably ineffective that it practically leaves the assessment of his property to his elastic conscience. Moneys, credits, etc., if assessed at all, must, of course, be put upon the assessment books at par value. They are self-assessing whenever the mind and heart of the citizen are pure and unselfishly patriotic to his community and charitable to his fellow taxpayer. In actual practice very little of moneys and credits is led by the citizen's community spirit and individual conscience to the altar of the tax assessor's books. To be sure, the moneys, credits, etc., which trustees hold for widows, orphans, and minors are most generally put upon the assessor's books at par value. The values of land, houses, and many other forms of general property, are at best only estimates; and these estimates vary within a remarkably wide range. I know of one piece of real estate situated in a North Carolina town which is on the assessor's books at \$250 when its market value is at least \$15,000, while nearby it is another piece of property assessed at \$3,500 when its market value is about \$5,500.

The reason for the constitutional requirement of a uniform *ad valorem* rate on all kinds of general property came from the assumptions, that all kinds of property were equally vital to the community and the citizen in proportion to their value, and that the exact value of each kind could and would be placed upon the assessor's books. This provision was incorporated into the con-

stitution at a time when property was much more largely uniform than it has become in recent years. Property is coming to be lacking in uniformity as to value and condition of production, consumption, and distribution. The experience of the world is clear enough to disprove largely the first assumption and entirely the second. The lesson of this experience has been sufficient to cause the abandonment, in order to secure greater justice and efficiency in taxation, of a uniform *ad valorem* rate by practically all the European countries except Switzerland and Holland. England took the lead more than one hundred years ago. More than a dozen of our states have abandoned the uniform *ad valorem* principle, among which are Pennsylvania and Maryland. Even North Carolina has for years believed in a differentiated rate for taxes on license or privilege; the constitution of 1876 allowed the legislature to tax one trade at one rate, another trade at a different rate. And the experiences with a reasonable classification of general property have, I think, proved the soundness, the wisdom, and the practical efficiency of the differentiated rate, when carefully and effectively applied. The example of Baltimore city might be considered. Prior to 1897 Baltimore had the uniform *ad valorem* system. In 1896 she had on her assessor's books only \$6,000,000 of intangible personality (securities), at a rate of \$2 on the \$100. In 1897 a rate for this class was fixed at 30 cents on the \$100 and she placed upon her books \$58,700,000; in 1907 the figure reached \$150,900,000. The \$2 rate in 1896 secured only \$120,000 in revenue; the 30 cents rate in 1907 produced revenue to the amount of \$452,700—a large increase in revenue and in justice to the taxpayer.

Perhaps the most popular proposition on tax reform now before us in North Carolina is that to segregate the sources of revenue for the different units of government—that the state should take to itself those sources which are more nearly state-wide (tax on corporations, inheritance, income, franchise, and license) and leave to the local communities—the county, town, etc.—those sources which are more essentially local in their nature. The constitution now forbids such segregation. Shall this clause be eliminated? Shall the constitution be so amended as to allow the legislature to make a reasonable segregation of the sources of revenue? It is said in support of the proposition that the consti-

tutions of seven of our states permit such action by the legislature and that four of these states have put into practice such a plan with distinct success—Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. These states have, to be sure, made such an experiment, but they have not all of them wholly abandoned a general property tax for state revenue. New York, for instance, resorts to the general property tax for state purposes occasionally—in times of need. The fact should, however, be most clearly held in mind that these four states are industrial rather than agricultural, and that such a state as New York or New Jersey may effectively have segregation of sources, while North Carolina may not at all be prepared for it. New York in 1909 obtained, out of a total revenue of \$29,283,182, 32 per cent. of her revenue from a corporation tax, and did it without harm to the corporations, and 24 per cent. from inheritance dues; she procured as much as \$12,153,188 from an inheritance tax in 1912. New Jersey in the same year—1909—easily obtained 92 per cent. of her state revenue from corporation taxes, and 8 per cent. from inheritances.

The question of the separation of sources of revenue for the state and its local units of administration is, however, a difficult one, and it should be thought out in every possible bearing before North Carolina should adopt such a plan. In North Carolina, in fact in the large majority of our states, the state government rather than that of the county or municipality is the vital unit, and must be from the very nature of its task. The problem of segregation must, therefore, be solved for any state in connection with this fundamental fact and in connection with the fact of the actual economic conditions prevailing at the time in the state. The state treasury of North Carolina must, I think, render for many years important aid in the development of the elementary schools in the rural sections—the greater portion of the commonwealth. This does not suggest that the localities shall not themselves perform as much of the educational service as is practicable; they should be compelled to do as much as possible. It means that many of these localities will remain for some years at least too poor in economic resource to support as effective educational service as they demand for the sake of their own growth and for the sake of their relationship to other localities.

in the state and to the state as a vital whole. The state treasury, for the same reason, must also render important aid to the weaker localities in highway building. The state treasury of North Carolina must, therefore, for many years to come have large resources of revenue. It must bear the expenditures necessary for the state-wide services—administration, legislation, the application of justice, the support of the higher educational institutions and the maintenance in a state of efficiency of the necessary penal and charitable institutions. It must also help to bear the expenditures necessary for effective elementary schools and highways in all parts of the state. These needs of the state treasury, which should be supplied with funds from practically all portions of the state, will long be imperative.

The corporation, franchise, and inheritance taxes may be sufficient for the state's needs in such industrial sections as Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. Are they in North Carolina? The legislature early in 1913 took an important step toward a larger contribution from the state treasury to elementary education. It set aside, in addition to the 20 cents on the \$100 already levied by it for elementary schools, 5 cents of the state levy (23 and  $\frac{3}{8}$  cents on the \$100) as a state equalizing school fund, for the purpose of making, with local aid, the term in every district in the state six months or as nearly six months as possible. This means the need of a larger fund in the state treasury. Can this effectively and justly come from corporation, inheritance, and franchise taxes? I think not; at least for the present. In 1911 the state treasury received for state purposes, out of a total from all sources of \$3,002,085, \$252,135 from taxes on railways and other public service corporations, \$19,187 from corporation excess (excess of the value of the corporation stock over the assessed value of the real and personal property belonging to the corporation), \$37,932 from the income tax, \$9,822 from the inheritance dues, \$86,542 from corporation franchises, etc., \$111,787 from general license and privilege taxes, \$5,702 from express companies' receipts, \$250,230 from insurance companies, \$25,326 from railway privilege tax, \$2,908 from telegraph companies, \$14,976 from telephone companies; and from the general property taxes, \$1,555,499 (\$1,243,052 came from real and personal property). Can the state treasury obtain from the

state-wide sources a sum sufficient to offset the \$1,555,499, the most of which would go to the local treasuries, should the state adopt segregation of the sources of revenue?

Is it practicable for the state to give to the local governments the funds derived from the taxes on real and personal property—\$1,243,052 as obtained in 1911—and to procure this amount from increased taxes on corporations, inheritances, incomes, franchises, or licenses? To place a much heavier burden upon corporations or their franchises than is now done would discourage industrial growth. The revenue from inheritances could easily be increased over the present insignificant amount by effective machinery, but it cannot for many years become very much. North Carolina has few rich citizens and no very rich ones. The revenue from the income tax could be increased to an important degree when the machinery of assessment is made effective and when the constitution is amended so as to permit a general income tax; the present constitution does not allow the income derived from property which is taxed under the general property tax to be taxed. But when all these increases have been made, the state treasury will not have sufficient funds, for a time at least, should it give up all revenue from real and personal property taxes to the local units of administration.

Segregation of the sources of revenue is not, I think, now practicable. It may, however, become so in the comparatively near future. I am, therefore, willing that the constitution be amended so as to permit such segregation whenever the economic conditions become such as to make it feasible. The constitution should not, I think, be amended frequently; the fundamental rules of our law should be changed seldom. And the section of the constitution which deals with taxation should be, when amended, as brief as possible. It should contain only a few fundamental principles. Our experience, as well as that of many of the other states, if not indeed all the other states, has proved that the constitution is inelastic—that it is difficult to amend it to meet the changing economic conditions of the people. It has also proved that the legislature must be elastic in its power of taxation because of these changing conditions. We should go back to the old idea of a brief constitution, one that places the fewest fundamental principles and limitations upon the legislature in its power of taxa-

tion. The tendency toward more and more details in the constitutions, which has become stronger and stronger since the middle of the last century, has placed so many restrictions upon the legislature's power to tax as to make its task very difficult. If the citizens of England are sufficiently protected against excessive taxation by parliament when their constitution contains no statement about the kind of a tax or its rate, if the citizens of Germany and of our own federal nation demand no constitutional restriction upon the power of the legislature to levy taxes, why should the constitution of North Carolina contain numerous and detailed limitations?

But when the constitution has been amended so as to allow the legislature to classify property and to separate the sources of state and local revenue, and to have sufficiently large powers over the assessment of property values and over the levy of rates, we shall still be in the wilderness of confusion, ineffectiveness, and injustice in our taxation, unless the legislature makes provision for effective machinery of assessment. A special class of moneys, credits, etc., may then be made by the legislature, but inefficiency and injustice will continue unless the legislature creates effective machinery for assessing the various kinds of taxables. The separation of sources of state and local revenue may then be provided, but one locality will continue, as now, to assess its property at a higher percentage of its market value, another locality at a lower, and some property will continue to remain unlisted upon the assessor's books unless the state and the locality have the most effective system of assessment possible. A large amount of the present ineffectiveness and injustice in taxation is due to the lack of machinery, which the legislature has all the time had the power to provide. One citizen has borne heavy burdens for another, and likewise one township or county, or one form of property, for the gain of another. The constitution of North Carolina has not debarred the legislature from providing a fairly effective remedy, as is clearly proved by the experience of Wisconsin, Kansas, and West Virginia, which are not allowed by their constitutions to classify property for taxation or to segregate the sources of revenue for the different units of administration. These states have done much toward an effective and just system of taxation by providing effective state-wide and local machinery of assessment; this fact is remarkably clear.

The thing we need in North Carolina, along with an amendment to our constitution, is a thorough-going revision of our machinery of assessment. The corporation commission has since 1901 served as a state tax commission and for a time also as a state bank commission. Its work as a corporation commission has, I think, been comparatively successful, and also as a bank commission; and this is all one can reasonably ask of it. Its tasks as a state tax commission have not been performed with any important success. The fact is clear that under it many kinds of inefficiency and injustice have continued from year to year. There has been practically no county equalization of assessment and no equalization between the counties—the specific duty of the state corporation commission acting as a state board of equalization. The state corporation commission has had for the most part no control over the actual list-taking and assessing. The county commissioners have most of the time controlled this work; they have appointed, oftentimes without care in selection, the assessor for the township; they have offered him the insignificant pay of from \$2.00 to \$3.00 a day for only a few days in each year.

Effective and equitable assessment with such machinery is, of course, an impossibility. To assess property accurately—and no assessment is fair unless it is made accurately—requires officers of expert ability, and such officers cannot be had for such a small reward. We have been willing to pay the sheriff of the county, much of whose work is to collect taxes,—an act which requires little judgment, since he has the power to force collection,—a fair wage. We have offered the assessor, whose task should always demand excellent judgment, a wage which would soon lead him for support to a charitable institution, had he not another occupation.

We have need of much more revenue for the state and many of its local units. This need could be supplied with fair success had we sufficient machinery of assessment. We need more justice in taxation, and an effective machinery of assessment could in large part secure satisfaction of this want. We need more farmers in North Carolina; an effective and just assessment of agricultural land for taxation would put more of it upon the market or into efficient cultivation. We need in many of our towns more build-

ings; an effective system of taxation would put more of our idle lands upon the building market or cause the present owners to build upon them.

What is an effective system of assessment? The experiences of a number of states—notably Kansas, Wisconsin, West Virginia, the only example of effective assessment in the South,—have proved that North Carolina must have a system substantially as follows, before she can ever expect efficiency and justice in her taxation:

(1) A state tax commission, with large powers of supervision over all assessment and over all the local officers of assessment, can, I think, alone meet the requirements of the state-wide machinery. The term of its office should be from six to eight years. Its members should be appointed by the governor, not elected. Efficiency and justice, not politics, should be the aim of all assessors. They should be experts and as non-partisan as possible. Their salaries should be large enough to attract men who have brains, character, and courage, and who could afford to devote all their time and energies to their official duties. Wherever such a body has worked, taxation has become more effective and equitable; more revenue has come to the state, the rate of taxation has frequently declined, and the burden of taxation has been more justly placed upon the citizens.

(2) A permanent county office of assessment. This office should be under the direction and supervision of the state tax commission, and its members should be selected by this commission, at least with its sanction. This local office should assess all the taxables in its territory except those of state-wide significance, which should be assessed by the state tax commission. The salary of the chief official in the local office should be large enough to command the undivided service of a man of ability and courage. Wherever the local assessment office has been permanent, efficient, and under vital supervision by a state tax commission, it has resulted in a larger revenue to the state and more justice to the taxpayer.

Is it not the ideal of true citizenship to strive constantly for more efficiency and justice in everything that the individual or the state shall attempt to do?

# The Hobbies of an Educated Man\*

WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT

Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures in Cornell University

Among the false aphorisms which will not be put down is this: all men are equal. There is a grain of truth in the remark. It is true that we all come into the world in the same way. In the race of life, we are even at the start; but we are never abreast again until, by a great mystery, we are all neck and neck as we cross the tape. In the interval of inevitable inequality, which covers the whole period of life, what is to distinguish educated people? What is to be hall-mark of liberal education? What fruit have we to show when we are examined for the results of our college years? Surely, not mere knowledge of the Past, not mere aptitude in reasoning from cause to effect, least of all mere technical and manual skill. Each of these accomplishments may be gained otherwise, more speedily and less dearly, in the school of life. One need not go to college to acquire the technical essentials for making money. A wide-awake farmer, a foreman of a construction gang, a clerk, a reporter, a corner-grocery politician, may all succeed in their respective niches without having exposed themselves to a college course. A faithful, painstaking young woman may without a college education make a good secretary, stenographer, and, if she be strong enough, a good nurse or a militant suffragette.

How then are they who spend four years and perhaps a couple of thousand dollars in the formal pursuit of education to claim that they are in any way more favored than other men and women who are busy earning their daily bread and increasing the nation's wealth? It is a direct challenge. Without being a utilitarian, I insist that we must give a reason for the faith that is in us. What is the use of our endeavor to secure an education? It is because so many young people can give no cogent reason for seeking an education that their education so often fails of any purpose. They don't know what they are seeking; so they find nothing. One very vital purpose of an education I propose to consider. And in order to vary the language in which the subject is

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sometimes set forth, and thus to bring the discussion on to familiar ground, I shall claim that one object of an education is to provide us with a by-product—a hobby.

I think I recall correctly having heard Professor J. P. Mahaffy, the Irish classical scholar, maintain that in this country the tendency of our higher education was to train men to make a living: whether in engineering, law, pedagogy, or medicine, it makes no difference; the object is to give some assets which can be turned definitely into dollars and cents. At Oxford and Cambridge, on the contrary, he maintained, the tendency had always been to educate a man so that he would be able to employ himself profitably and agreeably when he was not working for his living. If we make Professor Mahaffy's observation in another form, we may say that the effect of American education is to teach a man to be resourceful and independent; whereas the English universities provide a man with the means to find recreation in intellectual pursuits. I think there is wisdom in the English theory of university education, if we use it to temper our own national practice; and it is precisely of the value to the individual of a combination of these two theories that I wish to speak.

It is important to insist upon the development of what we have called a hobby as an essential aim of our educational methods. So long as we train men and women merely to earn a living by manual or intellectual skill, we are performing a useful service for them personally. But we are missing the larger conception of education in relation to society, precisely because the disinterested motive, the unselfish considerations which lead to service, are lacking. It is a great misfortune for any college graduate to feel that he has gained no profit from his course except that of increase in his earning capacity, and that his ideal of life remains purely utilitarian and mercenary. "Perpetual devotion to what a man calls his business," says Robert Louis Stevenson, "is only to be sustained by perpetual neglect of many other things. And it is not by any means certain that a man's business is the most important thing he has to do."

In the domain of education it is quite proper that a student should follow intently some one subject through a great part of his college course—follow what the Germans call a *Hauptfach*; but, to prevent short-sightedness and loss of mental perspective,

it is equally important that he should consider some other field of knowledge, and this the Germans call a *Nebenfach*. In all our graduate schools we insist that even an advanced student shall busy himself with one or two minor subjects beside the major subject in which he hopes to make a contribution to human knowledge. The purpose of this insistence upon the minor subjects is to guarantee breadth of view, a sense of proportion, a sane critical judgment. The oculist tells us students whose time is largely spent over books, that, if we would preserve our keen vision, we must go frequently out into the open air, accustom our eyes to the sight of distant objects and horizons, and thus rest them after the close application to our studies. And so, when a student of literature seeks my advice, I commend to his attention the allied fields of philosophy, art, and history, in order that he may not become narrow in his interests or prejudiced in his judgments. For the undergraduate as for the graduate student the minor subjects serve as a balance-wheel, and this balance-wheel is indispensable for the well-rounded scholar, as it is, I hope to show, for the effective life of service to which we are called.

For the little academic world in which many of us have lived is not an end in itself; it is but a sort of antechamber from which the Senior passes into a vast hall of strife and opportunity. Happy he who can maintain his place in the jostling throng and feel that he is paying his own way! But that is not enough. That is mere existence. Those who have had the privileges of a higher education have a right to expect something more than existence. The spirit of such favored mortals must dominate their existence and not be the mere tool of physical demands. As someone has said, our business is not to make a living, but to live a life. And life means the joy of liberty and resourcefulness, the response to the call of God's world, the stimulus of accomplishment. There is an immeasurable cleft between the existence of the rock and the joyous life of the bluebell or the daisy, the swallow and the thrush. And still wider is the cleft which divides man, created in his Maker's own image, from all the rest of creation. He alone has received the greatest of gifts—reason, free will, liberty—inestimable privileges carrying with them vast responsibilities.

It is not now my purpose to speak of the importance of a personal spiritual experience as the deepest well-spring of a satisfactory life. To have fought the good fight, to have finished the course with credit, to be conscious of a crown of life laid up for us as for St. Paul, must be in the minds of all the ultimate measure of success. The mightiest power in the world is the human spirit engaged in its high calling of collaboration with the Divine. All the greatest successes in human history have been gained in the domain of the spirit. Such triumphs are simply on a different plane. They admit of no comparison with the petty victories of the body and the mind.

Having made a place for faith in spiritual values as the chiefest factor in success, as even men rate success, let us turn to what I called our hobbies as a source of human joy, repose, balance, and efficiency. A hobby is a *Nebenfach*. It is a by-product, a side-issue, *not* the main business of life. As the tired business man may love to mount his horse of flesh and blood for a canter through the woods and fields of a summer evening, so a much larger class of jaded human beings love to mount their hobby-horse and ride at their own sweet will through the unexplored fields of intellectual delight. We love our hobbies because they are of our own choice. No man has foisted them upon us, as he may have imposed the law or a business career. Our hobbies are of our own begetting, and we love them as our own offspring. They represent our inmost selves; we lavish upon them our most unselfish efforts; we guard them from the observation of a cold and unsympathetic world; from them we draw strength and inspiration to continue the struggle of life. They are the truest indication of personality. Tell me what a man's hobby is, and I have the best criterion of his character and tastes. Show me a man in his leisure hours, and I can estimate the depth of his inner life better than can be done when he is in court, in the stock-exchange, or the class-room. A worthy hobby is a sure sign of an advanced intelligence in its possessor.

Our hobbies then are essentially personal. They may be the very breath of our nostrils, the very joy of our life. They are in any case invaluable as offering repose, recreation, enthusiasm. Before considering some of the mental and physical occupations which we call by this frivolous name, let me point out one feature

of a hobby which is invariable: a hobby has nothing to do with the so-called practical conduct of life; a man does not make his living by it; there is no money in it. Upon some hobbies it is possible to spend money; but strictly speaking, if you try to make money out of your hobby, you are taking from it its very life and charm; you are besmirching its character. A hobby stands for the individual's refusal to sell *all* of himself for lucre. It represents the one little sacred enclosure of individuality in defense of which the owner is prepared to defy the entire world with its battering-rams of criticism, convention, and mockery. The benefits to be derived from a hobby are altogether subjective in the first instance. Selfish, then, if you will; but selfish in the best sense. For the hobby restores the man to himself, renews his threatened personality every morning, restores his vitality every evening, prepares him daily for that rough and tumble fight in the world to maintain his place and to secure the triumph of his ideals.

Let us see to what occupations an educated man may profitably devote his leisure hours in order to restore his personality. Just as the normal child with passionate intensity collects, labels, and pores over his stamps, birds' eggs, or Indian arrow-heads, so we older children should have some more or less intrinsically futile object upon which to expend our thought and in which we may find recreation. I would not set much store by the boy who did not collect anything, who did not have some holy of holies in which he hived away his pathetic little treasures of sticks and stones and colored glass. See how instinctive is this search for privacy, this secret meditation upon the things most precious to the little boy! Later, with school, comes the age for all the bawbles and knicknacks which boys and girls trade in and discuss when they are left to be really themselves at recess and after the humdrum school is over. Still later, youth takes on other very individual interests: the garden with its vegetables and flowers, some poultry, a turning-lathe, fancy work, music, arts and crafts, offer a field for the development of those precious individual traits which make us what we are and keep us from sinking to the level of human machines.

There is a close analogy between school and life. Most of life, like most of our school years, is spent in accomplishing some

more or less hard task. To overcome resistance by application and endeavor is good for the soul. In school, however, as in life, there is of necessity a place to be reserved for more congenial studies. Hence the popular elective system, adopted freely in our entire educational programme. All work and no play, even in the intellectual domain, makes us dull indeed. Those who have already finished their specific preparation for life, who today face the unfolding of their unconstrained personality, will, I hope, appreciate the truth of what has just been said. If so, how can life be planned so as to incorporate in its programme a place for those hobbies which, I claim, are the logical continuation of the elective studies of college days?

The hobbies upon which a man may indulge his taste are legion. If one is an amateur collector on a large scale, it may be necessary to spend some money. The King of England is said to have one of the most complete collections of postage stamps in existence; the King of Italy is reputed an international authority on coins; the greatest financier of our own country seems to have collected almost everything, from masterpieces of art to railroads in the receiver's hands, from Italian madonnas to the Southern Railway. And all this, mark you, for the human joy of doing something you don't have to do, for the lust of indulging individual tastes. For the joy of collecting is the same whether you collect diamonds or marbles. But after the great ones of the earth comes the average man: he may grow flowers, run a stock-farm, play the flute, travel, read books, take photographs, ride horseback, run an automobile, paint pictures, or write poetry; he may collect anything under the canopy of heaven. It makes no difference what he does, if it does him or others no harm, and if it daily refreshes his soul with interest and enthusiasm. Professor Child of Harvard, the English scholar, tenderly cherished his rosebushes; Horace Walpole's letters are full of references to his search for works of art for Strawberry Hill; Petrarch was always on the lookout for classical manuscripts; Socrates had his weather-eye open for sophists to annihilate; Descartes, like Cervantes, was a soldier, but each has left behind him something more precious to humanity than victory in battle; Saint Paul was by trade a Cilician tent-maker, by avocation he became the bearer of a new message to the Gentile world. It appears that posterity is quite

as ready to honor men for distinction in the pursuit of a hobby as for distinction in their conduct of business.

To confine our attention for a moment to letters, we may observe that all ancient and much of our modern literature is a by-product. Professional authorship is a very modern development. Even now, despite the advertisements, authorship does not suffice to pay the grocery bills of very many men and women. But how many men are famous for their by-products? Molière was an actor and manager, but yet he found time to write the greatest comedies of modern times; Cervantes, after fighting at Lepanto and living a prisoner in Algiers, wrote *Don Quixote* and died in comparative poverty; Benvenuto Cellini was a famous goldsmith at the Papal court, but he left behind him the most highly rated autobiography in existence; Madame de Sévigné was a busy society woman in the days of Louis the Fourteenth, but she found time to write ten volumes of the most fascinating personal letters one can read; Anthony Trollope was a postoffice employee when he wrote the Barchester and Parliamentary novels; and Nathaniel Hawthorne was a Salem custom-house officer when he was preparing *The Scarlet Letter*. The list could be indefinitely prolonged, especially in European literature. Surely there is abundant reason for any one who may feel the impulse to put pen to paper in prose or rhyme, to seek diversion, if not fame, in that way. Of all hobbies upon which one may spend one's time, the buying, reading, and writing of books is perhaps the most engrossing and the most thoroughly satisfying.

Thus far we have been considering the possession and, so to speak, the practice of a hobby as an invaluable asset in increasing the joy and efficiency of life. It may have been felt, as already hinted, that the cultivation of a hobby is a rather selfish diversion. Lest the thought which has run through these remarks should be interpreted too narrowly, let us now shift our fundamental conception of a hobby as an asset in an *individual* life, and see if we may not carry it over into some of the duties and privileges of association with others in the cause of righteousness. Starting with the admitted necessity of earning a living as the business which lies nearest to the hand of each of us, how can we make effective our leisure hours? I have already referred to some of the interests which grip individuals and enable them to

maintain and develop their personal tastes. But there are other affairs, perhaps more noble and more disinterested, into which educated men with their trained minds and high ideals are rightly expected to throw themselves. There are a score of causes in which a man may unselfishly enlist his intelligent service: the improvement of social, political, agricultural, and religious conditions, which forms the programme of countless organizations existing outside the sphere of actual government and politics. For service in these organizations there is usually no pay. They may claim only our leisure hours. Yet their very existence and the attainment of the goal for which they are striving depend upon those of us who are convinced that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of what he may eat and drink. Food and drink are our living, as they are of the beast, but they are not our life.

So the teacher at his desk, the merchant in his office, the broker on 'change, the worker in the shop and the mill, the laborer on the farm—are all called to have some interest which shall raise them above mere existence, are all summoned in our democracy to associate themselves with the countless unselfish endeavors to make justice, love, and honor prevail. This call, to be sure, is not yet heard by all. Examples of the self-centered existence are everywhere about us. That man is truly educated, whether he may have been to college or not, who is trained efficiently to provide for those who are dependent upon him, and who brings to bear upon the problems of his time a personality fresh and free.

And thus, you see, while still adhering to the essential idea of a hobby, we have got upon a higher platform, we have risen into a higher stratum of duty and privilege. The *sine qua non* for the amateur collector as for the amateur reformer in an infinite capacity for enthusiasm in an unremunerative ideal. We necessarily give of ourselves daily in exchange for our physical needs; let us learn to give of ourselves daily in the attainment of some disinterested purpose. In the latter, rather than in the former process, are we likely to find happiness and to win the esteem of our fellows.

Let us return before closing to the pertinent question: what reason can we give for desiring an education? I hope I may have suggested one important mark by which an educated man may be distinguished. In addition to being merely trained in mind or

body so that he may be to some extent master of his fate, he should be distinguished by his generous outlook upon life. He must be more than one-sided; he must have some concern beside that of making a living; he must see Utopias possible of attainment toward which he yearns to lead the people. The possession of this unselfish conception of life and its duties is not peculiar to the so-called educated class. Many people possess it in the highest degree, who can boast of no college education, but who have absorbed elsewhere the spirit of generous service. The ideals of truth, honor, justice, and love should, however, be especially cherished and expounded by the scholars. If the scholars fail, by whom then shall virtue be extolled? So that if you are to give a reason for the faith in the value of an education, if you are to claim any pre-eminence therefor, let it be with a humbling sense of responsibility for the realization of the visions you have seen, the eternal ideals of which you have caught a glimpse.

We are ready now to take our last step, to make our last observation on this topic. Just as we saw it was a healthy and normal thing for the child, the youth, and the mature man, each in his time, to have some side-interest, some *Nebenfach*, in which to let his individuality find play, so now I may say: See to it that your hobby is a worthy one to occupy a trained human mind. The trivial diversion which sufficed for the child must, in the case of the scholar, be swept aside to make room for great unselfish issues. In the long run scholars have directed the progress of human thought, and, if you belong to the scholar class, you must strive with it on the field for truth, honor, justice, and righteousness.

My plea is in reality for the open-minded citizen, not totally engrossed in material affairs. We need him everywhere, in the cities, the towns, and in the rural sections of the country. He need not be highly educated; but he must possess that generous, wise, and open mind which is attracted instinctively to the worthy cause, and which should be surely the possession of our trained scholars. There can be no law to compel this attitude of mind. We may refuse to participate. But remember it is what we do not have to do that counts. One is likely to attain greater honor, live more happily, and reflect more credit upon his forebears and his teachers, if he goes through life sometimes doing what he might justify himself for leaving undone.

No bread tastes so sweet as bread that has been cast upon the waters and found later after many days. The savoring of this experience ought to be that of the educated man. He can afford to wait for it. For, as the little boy comes to learn that his life is a mysterious combination of hard school tasks and hours of happy pursuit of bird and flower, so you have learned in your college years that the hard, bare facts of existence are not all of life. Truth and the pursuit of truth shall set you free—free to cultivate your own personality, and free to spend your leisure hours to the glory of God and the deliverance of Man.

## State, Nation, and the “New Freedom”

LLOYD T. EVERETT, Esq.

The assertion is often made in these days of reform rampant and pervasive “progressivism” that the constitution of the United States was fathered by a lot of fine old reactionaries. Consult the record, and it will be found that, as the term *reactionary* is now understood, the charge has much to stand on. Take an incident from the convention of Virginia, 1788, which, after searching investigation and long and strenuous debate, ratified or acceded to the instrument by the close vote of 89 to 79. Early in these Virginian debates we hear this from Mr. Nicholas, a supporter of ratification, in answering objections to the powers of taxation granted to the new general government: \* “So far as the amount of the imposts may exceed that of the present collections, so will the burdens of the people be less.” (Now, hearken to the reason advanced in support of this claim): “Money cannot be raised in a more *judicious manner* than by imposts; *it is not felt by the people*; it is a mode which is practiced by many nations; nine-tenths of the revenues of Great Britain and France are raised by indirect taxes; and were they raised by direct taxes, they would be exceedingly oppressive. At present, the reverse of the proposition holds in this country; for very little is raised by indirect taxes.”

In his day and generation, and for the purpose immediately in view, Mr. Nicholas was wise. The old “Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union” between the thirteen revolted British-American republics had not worked to the filling of the common treasury. Under Article VIII of this older “federal constitution,” as the Articles of Confederation were then commonly termed, it was provided that the federal (or, “Continental”) revenues were to be raised by the several states “in proportion to the value of all land within each state,” etc., by means of taxes laid and levied by the respective state legislatures “within the time agreed upon by the united states in congress assembled.” It was complained that the states had become very dilatory in meeting these requisitions from the central body; hence, the then existing poverty of the national treasury, so that the Congress was forced to bor-

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\*Elliot's *Debates*, III, 99.

row from abroad the very money needed to pay the interest due on prior debts to European creditors.\*

In this deplorable condition of national affairs even Jefferson, staunch home ruler and states' rights man that he was, found himself moved to declare, vehemently:† "There never will be money in the treasury till the confederacy shows its teeth. The States must see the rod; perhaps it must be felt by some one of them." Jefferson at that time (1786), as minister of the United States to France, had official relations with our European creditors and felt keenly the humiliation of our beggarly financial condition. Even so, Jefferson was for using this "rod" as sparingly as possible. He said, in the letter just quoted from: "Every rational citizen must wish to see an effective instrument of coercion, and should fear to see it on any other element than the water. A naval force can never endanger our liberties, nor occasion bloodshed: a land force would do both."

This proposed recourse of coercing a confederate state in the matter of taxes was discussed in the constitutional convention of 1787. The project was discarded in favor of conferring upon Congress the power to collect taxes from the individual taxpayer, instead of by requisitions upon the several states as formerly. Madison, one of the delegates opposing state coercion, declared:‡ "A union of States containing such an ingredient seemed to provide for its own destruction. The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound."

Mr. Nicholas and those of his way of thinking had their way. Enforcement of federal taxation by coercion of a delinquent state found no place in the constitution of 1787-9; whilst direct taxes, as the *sole* resource, were feared as too provocative of opposition from the taxpayers. So there was adopted a form of taxing power that (comparatively) need not be "felt by the people." This is found in article I, section 8, clause 1, of the instrument: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises," etc. True, the "taxes" named here include

\*See, *inter alia*, Jefferson to Madison, August 2, 1787, Ford's "Writings of Thomas Jefferson," IV, 422.

†"Memoir, Correspondence and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson," (1829), II, 43.

‡Elliot's Debates, V, 140.

direct taxes—those that are “felt” by the people; but by another provision of the federal constitution (article I, section 2, clause 3) direct taxes must be “apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers” (i. e., populations). Few and far between have been the direct taxes laid by the Congress. From the first it has relied chiefly upon the *unfelt* imposts and excises, but especially the imposts.

And for Mr. Nicholas' purposes this power of indirect taxation has worked like a charm. The central government has thriven under it. With a full treasury—often full to overflowing—it no longer plays beggar before the bankers of Europe.

But has this power, in its practical workings and its ultimate results, been an unmixed blessing? Let us see. “Easy come, easy go,” is a saying as true as trite. These tax moneys, easily acquired and piled up in the treasury while still *unfelt by the people*, came, in course of events, to be almost as easily distributed again—but with this difference: the careless many, “unfeeling,” paid in these taxes; the careful and calculating few, most feelingly, received them in the distribution. To mention a few of the ways in which this distribution has been accomplished (but not strictly in the chronological order of their first appearing): There are fat sinecures of “boards” and “commissions” galore to help Congress find out what Congress is supposed to be paid by the people to find out for itself; great and growing military pension lists by no means confined to worthy pensioners—and, wars and rumors of wars for furnishing fresh armies of pensioners, largely fomented by that same calculating few as truly thrifty patriots; fat war-time contracts made with easy-going federal officials; swarms of paid lobbyists and corruptionists around Congress in the interest of legislation favorable to the few at the expense of the many; mileage grabs and the like by the members of Congress themselves; palatial office buildings for these Congressional servants of the taxpayers, and costly governmental structures throughout the length and breadth of the land; last, but not least, wholesale and reckless “internal improvements”, including the perennially scandalous “pork barrel” of rivers and harbors appropriations. Next, we may expect to see Washington implored to pour countless federal millions into the good roads project—a project that is most commendable in itself, but one that could

and should be undertaken by the several states and communities immediately interested, and that, so undertaken, could be made self-supporting, if not, indeed, a revenue producer.

In other words, during the approximate century and a quarter of the present federal constitution this "unfelt" indirect taxation has wrought its logical and perfect work of extravagance and the evils that follow in the train of extravagance. The power (and exercise) of indirect taxation is itself the first of five links in a fetter of tyranny; these links running thus in consecutive order: Indirect and *Unfelt* Taxation; Extravagance and Corruption; Centralization; Loss of Local Pride and Independence; Loss of Liberty itself. Whether all five are to be hammered out good and strong and fitly joined together for wreathing around fair Columbia's form, depends upon the vigilance or otherwise of the fair lady herself.

How far has the chain already progressed? As hinted above, one inevitable incident or result of this opulence and extravagance of the federal government is a pervasive, insidious, and ever growing encroachment of the central authority upon state and local rights and duties. And too often the local communities—yea, the states themselves—love to have it so. For this "there is a reason", as the advertiser expresses it. State and local enterprises and improvements require funds: these funds, as already seen, the central government has in abundance; the state governments and the municipalities have them not. And for this, too, the reason is readily forthcoming. The United States still obtain their revenues mostly through the unfelt, indirect taxation method; the states and municipalities tax directly, and these felt taxes are laid sparingly and paid grudgingly. More and more have we come to look to Washington to lend a glad and helping hand and generous purse for our state and local needs and desires. Here are just a few samples, culled almost at random from the newspapers of recent dates:

"Will teach farming at Colored schools. United States authorities to experiment with Miner fund in Alexandria county [state] schools"; "Work of grading and improving the grounds of the Clarendon [state] school, according to plans made by . . . a landscape gardener from the Department of Agriculture in Washington, is being rapidly pushed"; "In furtherance of her campaign to have the United States purchase the home of Thomas Jefferson,

Mrs. Martin W. Littleton made an address on 'The True Story of Monticello'; "Still another [of certain bills introduced into the Senate of the United States by Senator Martin, of Virginia,] appropriates \$100,000 for preliminary work in nationalizing as a great military park the famous battlefields of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Spottsylvania Courthouse, Salem Church and the Wilderness, all on Virginia soil and all of them world-renowned. It is Senator Martin's idea that these battlefields should be taken over by the [federal] government and merged into one great memorial park. . . . An appropriation of \$5,000 is asked for by Senator Martin for the erection on Jamestown island, in Virginia, of a monument to the Indian princess, Pocahontas. A sum of \$2,000 is wanted in a separate bill for the erection of an iron fence around old Jamestown church ruins. A monument is proposed in an additional bill to Peyton Randolph, an early Virginia statesman. This is to be erected on the campus of William and Mary College, Williamsburg, if the \$15,000 asked for is granted."

And so the list might be increased *ad infinitum*, from a cursory scanning of the newspapers of these present days. The above samples are all Virginian items. In them all, federal aid (or interference) is sought in matters in every one of which the proud old commonwealth should be able and willing to act alone. Virginia-paid experts should teach Virginian farming to Virginian pupils in Virginia's public schools. And so as to the landscape gardener who is to beautify the grounds of Virginia's schoolyard—only, those officials would then have to be paid from taxes that are felt when paid. Why should not Virginia herself hold in trust for the public the Virginian homestead of Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of local self-government? Who so fit as Virginia herself to erect on the campus of Virginia's own William and Mary College the effigy of Peyton Randolph, the "early Virginia statesman?" What so appropriate as that Virginia properly mark and preserve alike the site, on Virginia's soil, of the first permanent settlement of English-speaking colonists in America, and the (Virginian) ground made famous by the battled array of her own sons, with others, for home rule and constitutional liberty? Why, who, what, indeed?—if the sovereign state of Virginia only had the money.

Of a similar aspect is the current crusade for planting a United

States flag on every State-owned and (primarily) State-supported public school in the land. By all means hoist there the stars and stripes, if desired; but only in company with the State flag which, with or without the federal ensign, should fly from the root-tree of every State school in the land to teach the youth of the community that it is their own fostering mother State who trains and educates them for State and federal citizenship.

The general situation is thus summed up by one wide-awake patriot of these latter days:<sup>\*</sup>

"The great danger to the nation today is that the forty-eight sovereign states of this union are coming more and more to say, 'Oh, well, let George do it,'" declared G. Grosvenor Dawe, editor of the *Nation's Business*, the publication issued by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in a lecture on 'Social Legislation.' . . . . 'Many states are becoming less and less keen to the necessity of looking after their own internal affairs,' continued the speaker, 'the management of which was expressly conferred upon them by the constitution [rather, reserved by them in the constitution—L. T. E.] of the United States. Thus, state after state clamors for a federal soil survey, when such service ought to be performed by their own agencies.'

"Every duty of this kind which the state should, but does not, attend to is weakening to that state, and hence to the nation. The tendency is to destroy the spirit of self-reliance, which is the only hope of strong state life. The clamor about states' rights is necessarily insincere so long as the states neglect states' duties. To this same neglect, moreover, is due the formation of a party pledged to the federal execution of social duties and of social legislation.' "

And what of the state legislatures, those one-time watchful and powerful representatives of the people? No student of American institutional history need be told of the supreme importance and authority of the state legislatures in the early days of the "confederated republic," as these United States were then styled—those days when, at one crisis of our affairs, Madison himself, who had served several terms in the Congress of the United States under the constitution of which he is nicknamed the father, and had been there a recognized leader, came as a delegate to the legislature of Virginia that he might, in such capacity, the better serve

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\**Washington Herald*, March 15, 1913.

his state and his country. And in the same news article which tells us of the above mentioned appropriation bills of Mr. Martin we are reminded that once Maryland and Virginia each furnished substantial sums of money to the United States government for the erection of the public buildings in the infant capital city, Washington.

But now—how have the mighty fallen! The dragon of Revelation, chapter 13, gave his power and his seat and great authority to the seven-headed beast. The states, those dragons of the Federalists or Constitutionalists of 1787, beginning almost from the day the constitution went into operation, have, in practice, surrendered more and more of their own proper power and authority to the central government—the creators to their creature. The creature, naturally enough, has seized greedily upon this profffered largess of power, and its appetite has grown with what it has fed upon. Moreover, to it has been given a mouth (the federal "Supreme Court") "speaking great things" against these shortsighted, pusillanimous creators: as, when it arrogates to itself the undelegated right to determine as against a sovereign state disputed questions of sovereignty arising between the creator state and the created central government, of which latter this self-appointed and self-anointed supreme arbiter is but one co-ordinate part. A new and dreadful Frankenstein tragedy is on the boards with a continent for its stage.

To such a degraded pass have things come that a paltry sixty-day or ninety-day biennial session is considered all that a modern state legislature should be allowed for actual legislating, as witness the present constitutions of Maryland and Virginia. And the pay of the legislators is in proportion, averaging, perhaps, \$500 a head per year or per session. This, too, at the very time when the federal Congress, handicapped by no constitutional restrictions in such matters, has recently raised its own already generous salary and, with frequent special sessions necessitated from the ever growing business of the country, has become well nigh a continuous body. Sixty, ninety, say a hundred days session in every two years for the legislative body of a sovereign state! No wonder our state legislation is largely hotch-potch and crazy quilt in character, and, as to the mechanical part,

thrown together without time even for proper proof-reading before enactment.\*

Most timely is the comment from a live weekly journal of Virginia:<sup>†</sup>

"A bureau to draft bills for introduction into the national Congress has frequently been advocated. It is not half so necessary there as in the case of the state legislatures. Most Congressmen, even the new ones, are old at the business of legislating, or at least at the business of governing. They have usually gotten considerable practice at either handling or advocating legislation in other fields.

"But the state legislature, on the other hand, is a school for legislators. Men go there fresh from the plow shaft or the counting room. Once there, they find frequently the pressure of getting bills through so strong that there is little time for getting them into proper shape first."

To a somewhat different conclusion, apparently, from this Virginia editor, does Governor Hodges, of Kansas, come. Up pops this newly elected chief executive of the "Sunflower State" with the bland proposal that the legislature of Kansas be abolished entirely. As quoted in the daily press, he tells the legislature: "In a short session of fifty days you are required to study and pass upon hundreds of measures, and the hurry with which this must be done necessarily must result in a number of crude and ill-digested laws, which often puzzle learned jurists to interpret."

Just so, governor. A century or so ago the all-powerful state legislatures, as the agents of the people with practically plenary powers, supervised and sometimes themselves elected the governors of the states as both in fact and in name the chief executive officers—*i. e.*, the agents of these agents to execute their commands. Now we see one of these executives, as celestial trustee and lord high protector of the people, broadly hint that the legislature is a fifth wheel in the coach of state. And yet, remote though may be the danger at this present time, history teaches us that popular liberty is lost in just this way—by a surrender of the many-headed legislative branch to the single-headed execu-

\*The writer had evidence of this several years ago in the matter of a bill he had introduced and passed by the legislature of Maryland, granting a municipal charter to a certain suburban community of that state. But for his visit to Annapolis and careful scrutiny in person of the engrossed copy of the bill, awaiting passage, numerous glaring errors would have remained in the text.

<sup>†</sup>Alexandria County Monitor, March 22, 1913.

tive; the very danger of which the "constitutional fathers" were so fearful, as the debates of those times will show.

**And the remedy?**

Lay the ax to the root of the tree. Away with federal indirect taxation, at any rate as the chief and prevailing mode of raising revenue. Substitute direct taxes—just how and in what form we need not here discuss; this should furnish much thought for the statesmanship of the immediate future. But impose taxes, state and federal, that are *felt by the people*. Let the citizen, state and federal, know, feel, and realize that *he* pays for running the government. So far as possible, let the state and federal governments co-operate in levying these taxes and share on some proper basis the proceeds between their respective treasuries, as was contemplated by certain of the constitutional fathers.\* Take off the time limit for state, the same as already for federal, legislative sessions. Pay adequate salaries to our legislative representatives, thus making it worth the while of able and ambitious men to go to our legislatures, state and federal. Send such men to them. Furnish both such legislatures with adequate revenues, each for the governmental expenditures falling properly within their own sphere of legislative jurisdiction. And so restore at once actual home-rule with the spirit of local pride and independence, and in doing this re-establish on its true basis this confederate republic.

Nor need we fear overweening power by the state legislatures as a result of lengthened sessions and enlarged scope of official activity. The longer the session, the weaker the excuse for hurried legislation and the less the danger of jobbery, jokers, *et id omne genus*. Moreover, a powerful check and balance on the modern legislature is the *popular* initiative and referendum; just as, if generally recognized and practiced, we have a mighty check on Congressional usurpation or over activity in the *federal* initiative and referendum.†

The present Democratic administration is professedly a reform administration, and is morally pledged to a restoration of a decentralized and economical, but none the less efficient, régime. A splendid start has been made in the law enacted to scale down the

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\*See Elliot's *Debates*, original edition, II, 52-3, 70; III, 78, 81.

†See the article, "Federal Initiative and Referendum," in the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY*, October, 1912.

robber "protective" tariff to even less than a revenue basis, the deficiency in revenue to be made up by an income tax—a tax that will certainly be "felt" by the man who pays it. (And this does not mean a weakened federal government within the proper federal sphere. See the projected coöperation between the states and nation in the matter of storing the flood-waters of our great inland and interstate waterways as outlined by Secretary Lane of the Department of the Interior; likewise, the tactful and cordial co-working by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan with California, with reference to the anti-Japanese situation in that state.)

Will the good work, thus happily begun by the restorers of Jeffersonian principles to federal high places, be in time followed up in the way above discussed? Jefferson, the staunch "progressive" of his day, in his first inaugural address declared himself for "the support of the state governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and *the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies*; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad." In this blazed direction leads the path of the "new freedom"; in this way may we realize the hopes of the de-centralist, low taxationist, Hayne, for the perpetuation of "Liberty—the Constitution—Union", in behalf of "a free, a happy and a united people."\*

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\*In the peroration of Hayne's second reply to Webster.

# The New Economic Interpretation of Literary History.

ELBRIDGE COLBY

Proudfoot Fellow in Letters, Columbia University.

Now that the theory of the Economic Interpretation of History is well established, historians have begun to discover various allies of history in the social and physical sciences. They say that "history includes every trace and vestige of everything that man has done or thought since first he appeared on the earth. . . . all that we know of mankind regardless of the sources of the information." Thus they claim that "history is science, not a science," and that the historian has "gained the whole world without the loss of his own soul." And so they turn their attention to philosophy, geology, anthropology, biology; physics, and psychology. They have studied economics and have come to the conclusion that poor crops caused the Pilgrimage of Grace, that the Crusaders discovered America, and that Hargreaves and Arkwright conquered Napoleon.

When this idea had come to acceptance, the professors of literature in our various universities bestirred themselves from meticulously studying the much-mooted biographies of the great men of other days and from examining the progress of an idea like the *virtu* through successive periods. They roused themselves and looked about them. They said to one another, substantially: "Why cannot we find an underlying economic motive in our history as the historians have found one in the history of politics? We devote our lives to literature for money, is not that an economic motive? Men write books for money, is not that an economic motive?" And so they could ask many similar questions. Did not the lack of pecuniary encouragement for American authors during the first half of the century have a decided effect on the American literature of the period? In 1841 Matthew Carey, the Philadelphia publisher, wrote to Gilmore Simms to say: "We do not see much hope in the future for the American writer of light literature—as a matter of profit it might be abandoned." Were not economic motives in evidence here?

The basis of their theory has been stated as follows: "Food is a condition precedent to literature. . . . In every country and

in every age men of genius have been tempted to adventure themselves in that form of literature which seemed then and there to be most popular and therefore most likely to be profitable."\*

A little study on their part revealed several instances. There were no dramatic copyright arrangements between France and England at the beginning of the nineteenth century; and was it not due to the wholesale pirating of plays that English drama suffered a severe relapse and the English novel sprang into great prominence at about that time? They could refer to Dryden and show that those were purely financial reasons which moved him to change from poetry to drama, from drama to satire, from satire to translation. They could point out that from the earliest "scop" or minstrel until the days of dear old Doctor Johnson, a writer was naught but slave to this or that patron. James I had learned a certain style of poetry from a Scotch tutor and he took a deep interest in the verse, and had a widespread influence on the poets, of his time. Thus he was literary as well as political arbiter of his court, and the versifiers, as one of them said, were wont "to offer trembling songs to princely eares." They could point perchance to William Godwin, the slender, little, pale-faced man, dissenting minister, novelist, and archradical, who said frankly, with reference to one of his novels. "I was more or less determined by mercantile considerations." They could point to the conditions of composition which were forced upon Anthony Trollope or to Mrs. Oliphant, "the shadowy novelist of the nineteenth century, who sighed for greatness and had to write for money, and who looked wistfully out of her little world upon the achievements of George Eliot."

So they could go on and on. And what would come of it? Professor Matthews and his colleagues will in the end have presented some very interesting and very excellent theories, but their theories must always remain theories. They can prove nothing. They will be limited to the making of generalizations which might easily be proven false through the presence of a plurality of causes. They can merely suggest and suppose and approximate. A man may say that he writes a book primarily for money, but there are always other motives and the other motives are the most important. Unless a man know a subject, unless he have

\* "The Economic Interpretation of Literary History," by Brander Matthews, in *Gateways to Literature*, New York, 1912.

some definite ideas about what he writes, unless he strive for an ideal, his book is just to that degree worthless.

It seems that the professors of literature take the wrong attitude. The very instances to which they point, as well as innumerable others, disprove their contention that the remuneration, whether from the public or from a patron, is the underlying motive in determining the substance and the spirit, though it may determine the manner of presentation. To the present writer it seems that we should not make too much of the external form of literature. It does not make so great a difference whether expression is through the play, the novel, the essays, or in metrics. It is the ideal expressed with which we should concern ourselves—the ideal after which the writer patterns and toward which the writer strives;—thus, we think of Barry Cornwall and Thomas Love Peacock and Francis Jeffrey as elements in the classical reaction rather than as men with entirely different attitudes toward life, poetical, novelistic, and critical. And is it not this external form Professor Matthews emphasizes?

As far as the patron is concerned, it must be admitted by all who will make a study of the matter that the patron has very little influence on the output. Because James I had accomplished the royal monopoly of dramatic patronage, and because he was himself a poet of more than mediocre ability who took particular interest in things literary and poetic, he exerted a far more important influence than any man before or since. The average patron, however, was not considered until the book was written and the time had come to print the page which should contain the dedication. Patronage was in those days merely a form of scholarly encouragement and literary advertisement, somewhat analogous to the present establishments of endowed fellowships. The dedication of a book was nothing more or less than the bestowal of a compliment that had been bought and paid for, after the book itself had been independently composed, and the few instances that can be pointed out as exceptions to this general rule show an influence very very slight indeed.

Then, too, no poet of any worth, no writer of any worth, is content to be patronized. His genius must be free. The revolt of the true artist with his heart in his work;—and it must be remembered that the true artist with his heart in his work is the only one that can make any real contribution to our literature, to

our consciousness and appreciation of ourselves and the world about us,—the revolt of the true artist, I say, has scarcely been better expressed than in the reply of Cyrano de Bergerac to a suggestion that he swallow his pride and principle and "lay aside his soul for a fortune." He says:

" . . . And what should a man do? Seek some grandee, take him him for a patron, and like the obscure creeper clasping a tree-trunk, and licking the bark of that which props it up, attain to height by craft instead of by strength. No, I thank you. Dedicate, as they all do, poems to financiers? Work to construct a name on the basis of a sonnet, instead of constructing other sonnets? No, I thank you. Calculate, cringe, peak, prefer making a call to a poem,—petition, solicit, apply? No, I thank you! No, I thank you! No, I thank you! But . . . sing, dream, laugh, loaf, be single, be free, have eyes that look squarely, a voice with a ring; wear, if he chooses, his hat hindside afore; for a yes, for a no, fight a duel or turn a ditty. . . . Work, without concern of fortune or of glory, to accomplish the heart's-desired journey to the moon! Put forth nothing that has not its spring in the very heart."

Does not this ring true, would not any artist worth while feel as Cyrano felt and do his work irrespective of a patron?

On the other hand, as far as the public is concerned, the professors of literature seem to be wrong there also. William Godwin was a very inferior novelist and a very distinguished political philosopher. It was even said that he was not prosecuted for the radicalism of "Political Justice" because the book was little sold at the high price, and yet that narrowly circulated volume constituted his contribution to posterity. His heart and soul were in the work;—he put it together in an incredibly short time and sold it practically at cost. Its influence, greater than that of anything else he ever wrote, and his influence through personal intimacies with radical writers of the romantic period, were not paid for in any fashion. Thomas Paine wrote not for money when he penned the "Rights of Man," and "Common Sense," or when he dashed off the burning words of the first "Crisis": "These are the times that try men's souls."

Let us go back for a moment to a book of different character from that of American Revolutionary pamphlets. "Carrying ourselves back in thought to the fourteenth century we shall find that the name of Francesco Petrarca stands for a revolution in European thought. His existence, character, and career consti-

tuted in themselves, as has been said of Voltaire, a new and prodigious era. His was the most potent individual influence in changing the whole trend of intellectual pursuits, not only in his own country but ultimately in Europe at large." Could it be said of the monumental work of Petrarch in the inception of Humanism, and of Voltaire's work in the popularization of Rationalism, that they were undertaken for the financial rewards? The merely "popular" works which make financial success are never the really important ones. With Petrarch, for instance, to him his "sonnets seemed little more than a youthful diversion. They earned for him, as he admits, a despised notoriety among the illiterate multitude, but could never constitute the foundation of a scholar's fame." Finally, to present a last example, Doctor Johnson, who called any man "a fool who wrote for anything but the need of cash," in spite of what he said has made his chief contributions to posterity in unpurchased and unpurchasable personal influence which he exerted. The best piece of writing he ever did was a furious, angry letter to Lord Chesterfield.

The transition to a state of freedom from patronage and from dependence on the public can hardly be said to have been complete until the nineteenth century, and consideration of the literary work and of the writers of that period disproves the theory of Professor Matthews all too conclusively. Wordsworth, Keats, Byron, Shelley, Tennyson, Rossetti, Ruskin, Morris, and Swinburne, all had the time and the money, as well as the inclination,—or had it given to them,—to devote themselves absolutely to their chosen work to the exclusion of other interests. Hawthorne, Lowell, Longfellow, and Emerson were supported independent of their writings,—the first by his work in the customs-service, the last by his lectures, the other two by university professorships. Economic considerations moulded the form of the writings of none of these men in England or in America and can only be said to have afforded the opportunity. But then, says Professor Matthews, the very opportunity is created or destroyed by economic considerations, by the worldly welfare of the writer. That may be true; but it must be remembered that this creation or destruction has to do with all writers alike, and chiefly it must be remembered that the poet or author is a creature of mood, and that the character of these moods arises from the character of the poet or author and not from his financial condition. The

poet who writes for money and the poet who writes for pleasure are alike in that they turn to writing rather than to other things, and their turning to that field is through their own personal preferences and inclinations and not external economic considerations.

Poe is the best example we have of a genius prevented from full development by unfavorable conditions. We are told his one shortcoming as an author was, that he never wrote a novel when, poor man, he never got a chance. Always just out of the clutches of poverty, he lived from hand to mouth and, if there ever was a day-laborer with a pen, that was Poe. So of course his stories were short, so of course he was prevented from expressing all he had to express. Poe himself tells how little his financial status tended to turn the bent of his genius, check it as it might. He prefaced the 1845 edition, the last collected edition, of his poems with the following:

"I think nothing in this volume of much value to the public, or very creditable to myself. Events not to be controlled have prevented me from making, at any time, any serious effort in what, under happier circumstances, would have been the field of my choice. With me poetry has not been a purpose, but a passion; and the passions should be held in reverence; they must not—they cannot at will be excited, with an eye to the paltry compensations, or the more paltry commendations of mankind."

And yet he wrote on. If, when a man seeks to gain the whole world he loses his own soul, far better would it have been for art that like Poe, as had been said of Gerard de Nerval, the poet had "lost the whole world and gained his own soul."

We will look, then, at some more evidence which the geniuses themselves have brought to show how little they care for gaining the world. Arthur O'Shaughnessy has sung in an ode:

"We are the music-makers  
And we are the makers of dreams,  
Wandering by lone sea-breakers,  
And sitting by desolate streams,  
World-lovers and world-forsakers,  
On whom the pale moon gleams:  
Yet we are the movers and shakers  
Of the world forever, it seems.

With wonderful deathless ditties  
We build up the world's great cities,  
And out of a fabulous story  
We fashion an empire's glory:  
One man with a dream, at pleasure,  
Shall go forth and conquer a crown;  
And three with a new song's measure  
Can trample a kingdom down."

Poe wrote in the preface to "Eureka";

"To the few who love me and whom I love—to those who feel rather than to those who think—to the dreamers and those who put faith in dreams as in the only realities—I offer this book of Truths, not in its character of Truth-Teller, but for the Beauty that abounds in its Truth constituting it true."

Emma Goldman was once criticized for being a visionary, an idealist, a dreamer, because she would draw up no anarchistic platform for the future, no system which could be imposed upon posterity. Her reply was characteristic: "I hope I am a dreamer. In the labouring classes, the 'conscious minority', dreamers if you will, are those to whom we shall look for salvation, and I have noticed that every great reformer of the past was called a visionary and a dreamer in his own time. I'm glad you called me a dreamer!"

Arthur O'Shaughnessy, Edgar Allan Poe, and Miss Goldman compose a strange trio; but the three statements illustrate the idea; and they illustrate it from the point of view of the writer himself. Sidney said, "Look in thy heart and write;" and always the writer has preferred to lay his heart beside the paper and copy;—the thought, if true, may transform the world.

It is the dreamer like Hamlet who has opportunity to live inasmuch as he does not act, who has time to contemplate the broad face of things and to learn that "something is rotten in the state of Denmark." The man who would come to a proper consciousness and appreciation, and who would express the ideals of his fellows and the world about him must have time to think and must have a proper amount of perspective. The great men, the strong men, of other years have had social hearts but have lived in solitude. And so it is best that the writing should be for the writer a vocation rather than an avocation; that his sole interest should lie in the interpretation of the great forces of humanity.

An examination of the records we have, shows that the greatest geniuses have all developed irrespective of any economic interference and that—while cold, hard economic fact may have been of importance in some individual cases—it had little bearing on the trend of literature as a whole. It is true that a novelist, the same as the playwright, must suit his piece to the taste of his audience. So, Nash, Peele, Lodge, and Greene, young university wits of Elizabethan days, moulded their classical material to meet popular demands. So the novelist has done. And this provides us with the truth that, to whatever degree popular demands have moulded the literature of the past, just by that much more can a man be taken as typical of his time. His view of conditions or of ideals must be true or it will not be accepted. But it is the popular fancy, the popular ideals, that place the limitations on the product; and popular fancies and popular ideals are susceptible to change. They change from age to age; and, though the alteration in each separate case is slight, they change at the behest of "the dreamers of dreams" instead of placing themselves rigid economic barriers about the geniuses who wield the pens and who at once serve and lead. In the words of Shelley: "Poets, not otherwise than philosophers, painters, sculptors, and musicians are, in one sense, the creators, and, in another, the creations of their age."

Thus the personality of the poet has weight as well as the immediate surroundings,—a great of weight. Even Professor Matthews himself says, in his closing paragraph: "He who possesses the potentiality of becoming one of the great men of literature . . . . born out of time or place . . . . will rise superior to circumstances, either because he is supple enough to adapt himself to them, or because he is strong enough to conquer them, turning into a stepping stone the obstacle which weaker creatures find only a stumbling block."

Would it not be best to dismiss any such proffered attempt at an "economic interpretation of literary history" through scattered and unrelated individual conditions? Would it not be advisable to consider literature, not merely in relation to its social background—as Taine would have us—but as a result of that society. The ideals of the writer are influenced by the society in which he lives, and so the output. In like manner, the society itself has resulted from certain economic forces and conditions.

All is bound together; every particle of matter in the universe is affected by an eyelid that closes or a thought that springs to birth. Each man, even the idealist, is in close connection with his own times—the idealist is not apart: he merely marches in the advance guard of the age. So, as economic laws govern human, social conditions in turn, forming as they do the chiefest part of his environmental education, govern the output of the writer.

In some such way, perchance, “some gentle scholar of an hundred years hence” may draw together many scattered threads and be able to formulate theories which shall mean much to us in our study of literature and life. The investigator may show, for instance, the real relation between an age of great national and commercial expansion and an accompanying outburst of lyric poetry, and the causal connection between the two. Here is food for thought, at the least. We believe that this would be a bigger and broader and better, especially a more useful, “interpretation” than one founded on accidental “economic possibilities” in the case of different writers,—the individual’s financial status in Grub Street, if you will.

So, there *can* be an “economic interpretation”, though less definite, in a greater and more fundamental sense than Professor Matthews has said. In the broad synthesis and general survey, we see clearly; while in the single instance, we grope darkly face to face. This interpretation would be linked with the spirit of the age; not with exotic trivialities. It would deal with things which have influenced the trends and tendencies of literature as a whole, rather than deal with casual, accidental, and isolated circumstances. It would concern itself with fundamentals not with inessentials; with the inspiration, not with the bookseller’s goad. Such we propose as the true “economic interpretation of literary history.”

## England and the Home-Rule Question

WINIFRED MAHON  
University of Michigan

For more than six centuries England has had her "Irish question," a question which earlier policies of repression and later attempts at conciliation have alike been unable to solve. Each generation has had to work out a new Irish policy because the generation before had failed. In our own time the idea of "governing Ireland in accordance with Irish ideas" has taken form in such measures as the land and local government acts with the Unionist party, and in the three Home-Rule bills with the Liberals. The third of these, the Government of Ireland Bill, was introduced into the House of Commons in April of last year.

From the time when the English first began to invade Ireland in the twelfth century until the middle of the eighteenth century, their policy was repressive. Not only did they take the land away from the native Irish, but they gradually assumed more and more political power, until they almost completely dominated the Irish Parliament. Thus they required that all proposed Irish measures should be submitted to the Privy Council at Westminster before being introduced into an Irish parliament, and finally, in 1720, declared their right to legislate for Ireland independently of the parliament at Dublin. Even in their own parliament, which still kept some of its power, the native Irish had little voice, for the religious troubles, which came with the Reformation, had given rise to such violent feeling that the great majority of the Irish people, who had remained Catholic, were deprived of almost all political rights, and had to submit to government by a Protestant minority. In economic matters, too, Ireland felt the heavy hand of the English legislators, for her chief industries were destroyed, and the people, thus thrown back upon the land, were forced to live under a wholly inadequate and unjust system of land-holding. The beginning of the eighteenth century found Ireland in a condition of desolate depression, which is almost inconceivable.

When the outlook seemed darkest, however, new considerations appeared which led England to adopt a policy of conciliation in place of the repression which had thus proved a failure. The

Irish, both of the north and south, stung by the wrongs of their country, and united by their common grievances, became conscious of their nationality, and clamored for a free parliament. At the same time, the English came to see wherein they had been at fault in the past. The result was a short period of partial political independence, beginning in 1742, in which the powers of the Irish Parliament were largely restored, although Catholics were still excluded. When the dissatisfaction of the majority of the Irish people led to the rebellion of 1798, England, feeling the need of concentration on account of the Napoleonic wars, ended the whole matter by the Act of Union, in 1800, which abolished the parliament at Dublin, and proposed to govern Ireland through the British Parliament, to which one hundred Irish members were to be admitted.

The course of the nineteenth century saw religious and economic changes, but the political situation remained practically unaltered. The Catholic disabilities were done away with; the Irish church was disestablished; and the agrarian troubles, which had been steadily growing worse, were remedied to a large extent, at first by the legislation of the Liberal party, and later by the Unionist policy of land purchase. On the other hand, although the Irish incessantly demanded political independence, no concessions were made in this direction, two Home-Rule Bills, in 1886 and 1893, failing to pass into law. These measures, which were introduced by the Liberals, seem to have been brought forward partly from a sincere belief in the wisdom of Home-Rule, and partly as a reward to the Irish party, the Nationalists, for their support. Both bills proposed to set up a separate parliament in Ireland,—the chief difference being that the earlier bill gave Ireland no representation at Westminster, while the later bill provided for eighty Irish members to sit in the imperial parliament.

With the defeat of the second Home-Rule bill, in 1893, the nineteenth century, which had been ushered in by the Act of Union, came to a close, as far as the Irish question was concerned; the solution seemingly as far away as ever. In the last twenty years, however, the situation has changed, and the Irish are looking eagerly for the outcome of a third Home-Rule bill, proposed, as before, by the Liberal party. In order to understand the present political condition in England, we must look at the peculiar position of the Irish party, the reasons which made them join forces

with the English Liberals, and the circumstances in view of which the Liberal party decided once more to champion the Home-Rule cause.

Political and economic agitation had assumed large proportions by the beginning of the present century. The Unionists, who were in power, passed a number of Crimes Acts, putting the country practically under military discipline, in order to suppress the boycotting and cattle-driving to which the Irish had resorted in their efforts to show dissatisfaction with the imperfect working of the land acts. But instead of quieting matters, these measures only reacted to make the feeling against England stronger. This feeling was quite as evident in political as in economic affairs. Although the Unionists had originated land purchase in Ireland, and had, in 1898, granted local government similar to that in England, they were unwilling to go farther, and were afraid to grant concessions, for fear that such steps might involve Home-Rule. The dissatisfaction in Ireland arising from this was aggravated, furthermore, by what the Nationalists declared was a neglect of Irish affairs by an overworked parliament. Having tried boycotting and cattle-driving to no effect, the Irish felt that the only thing left for them to do, short of rebellion, was to continue the agitation for Home-Rule, and in the meantime to "obstruct" the work of Parliament in the hope that their demands might be listened to through sheer desperation.

As a means of deliverance, the Irish Nationalists turned to their old allies, the Liberals; not so much because the policies of the two parties were identical, as because, having learned the futility of asking help from the Unionists, they felt that the Liberals might possibly be brought to support Home-Rule a third time. As a matter of fact, the Irish were generally credited with having more in common with the Unionists as far as such matters as peasant proprietorship and tariff reform were concerned, but they chose to sink these interests in the greater question of a national parliament; and here, while the Unionists were unyielding, the Liberals, on the other hand, were by tradition and to a large extent by conviction in favor of Home-Rule. Gladstone had been its great champion, and after his death, the policy found strong advocates in such men as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and the two secretaries for Ireland, Mr. Birrell and Mr. Bryce, and had, moreover, a vigorous, though small, support in the

House of Lords. It was natural, therefore, that the Irish should turn to the Liberals rather than to the Unionists.

But in spite of such protestations, there were a number of reasons which led to the postponement of the Home-Rule question until after the Liberals had been in power for six years. In the first place, they seem to have mistrusted popular opinion in this regard, for they avoided reference to the subject, as much as possible, in their election speeches, evidently fearing defeat if they championed the cause; and a number of the present supporters of the bill were forced to pledge themselves to use their influence against such a step in order to keep their seats in Parliament. The Unionists, however, seem to have dragged Home-Rule before the country on every occasion in the hope that their opposition to it might turn popular feeling in their favor.

Even had the country at large been in sympathy with Home-Rule, the House of Lords would have been an effective obstacle. Up to 1911, when the Parliament Act was passed, the House of Lords had power to veto measures which came before it, no matter how unmistakably the people might have expressed their wishes in the elections. It was in this manner that the Home-Rule bill of 1893 was lost, for the great majority of the Lords were then, as now, strict Unionists in theory. If it would have been difficult to get such a measure through the House of Commons, it was generally agreed that it would be impossible to have it pass the House of Lords.

While the uncertainty of popular opinion, the overruling power of the House of Lords, and also the demands of the other parts of the empire, kept the Home-Rule question from coming to issue for several years, other considerations at length made it necessary to appease the Nationalists in order to keep their support. The general elections of 1906 gave the Liberals such a small majority in the House of Commons that they maintained their power chiefly by the Irish vote. Being thus under obligation to the Nationalists, but knowing as well that a Home-Rule bill was inexpedient at the time, the Liberals tried to compromise, in the hope that the Irish would take what was offered, without insisting on the full measure of self-government.

The compromise was the scheme of "devolution." This term had already become familiar in political theory. In principle, it meant the delegation to each separate part of the kingdom of the

affairs which concerned that part and that part only,—at the same time leaving the supreme control over all with the imperial parliament. Devolution had become famous through the efforts of the Irish Reform Association, as a certain group of Unionists were called, who, in 1904, had proposed a form of self-government for Ireland, which met with little favor: chiefly, because it was too radical for the Unionists, yet insufficient for the Nationalists. When the King's Speech in 1906 and again in 1907 announced the intention of the Liberals to make some concession to Ireland, the Unionists foresaw that it would be in the direction of devolution, and the terms of the bill itself, which was brought in, in May, 1907, proved that they were right. This Irish Council Bill, as it was called, proposed to establish a council in Ireland, of which most of the members were to be elected and the others nominated. This council was to have charge of the work theretofore done by the principal Irish executive boards, such as the Local Government Board and the Commissioners of Public Education.

The bill, however, like the suggestions of the Irish Reform Association, satisfied neither the Nationalists nor the Unionists. Although the Liberals insisted that it was rather an experiment than a step towards Home-Rule, the Unionists objected "not only to the big hole for the cat, but also to the little hole for the kitten." The Nationalists, on the other hand, seem to have felt the danger of accepting anything short of full Home-Rule. While Mr. Redmond and his followers voted for the bill after the first reading, they did not pretend to be satisfied. The veto of the Lord Lieutenant, which was the principal safeguard in the bill, took away what little power was offered; there were no privileges in regard to taxation, and no adequate substitute for the parliament the Irish were demanding. Moreover, the Irish declared that the scheme was unworkable. So strong was their feeling that when the Liberals and Nationalists decided to submit the bill to a convention of the Irish people, a unanimous vote against it caused the whole matter to be dropped. Clearly, the Irish would not accept a small measure of devolution.

In the course of events, however, certain obstacles which had prevented the earlier introduction of a Home-Rule bill disappeared, and other circumstances arose which led the Liberals to support the cause again. To be sure, public opinion remained un-

certain, and the elections of 1909 and 1910 were won on other issues; but, on the other hand, the Lords' veto, which had been such a formidable obstacle, was done away with in 1911. Although the passage of the Parliament Bill involved the acceptance of a Budget which was not at all welcome to Ireland, the Nationalists voted for it, partly because they were anxious to get rid of the veto and partly because they saw an opportunity for making the Liberals indebted to them. The chief provisions of the Parliament Act were: first, that a money bill, passed by the House of Commons, should become law one month after being sent to the House of Lords, with or without the consent of that body; and second, that other public bills (with two exceptions) should become law, without the consent of the Lords, provided they should be passed by the Commons in three successive sessions. Thus what was perhaps the chief objection to bringing in a Home-Rule bill, from the Irish point of view, was removed.

Whether or not these changes alone were powerful enough to bring Home-Rule to the front again, the strategic importance to the Liberals of the Irish vote made the result almost inevitable. The parliamentary situation was such that the support of the Nationalists was absolutely essential to the Liberals. It was to be expected, therefore, that the two parties would join forces with a more or less definite agreement that if the Nationalists voted for Liberal measures, the Liberals, in their turn, would vote for Home-Rule.

The changed attitude of the Nationalists and the Irish people had been preparing for just such an alliance. The intense anti-English feeling that prevailed in Ireland at the time of the Boer war, and in lesser degree thereafter, is almost incredible. Mr. Redmond and his followers said again and again that the only reason they did not encourage armed rebellion was that it would be hopeless. There was trouble over the King's visit to Ireland, over the coronation, over service in the British army, and frequent instances are recorded where the Irish refused to sing the national anthem. But when the Liberals came into power, the attitude of the Irish gradually changed, and became peaceful, if not friendly. After 1906, public demonstrations against England were less and less frequent; Nationalists and Liberals stood together on the great issues in Parliament; and when the Government of Ireland Bill was finally introduced in 1912, the Irish peo-

ple accepted it as a token of goodwill, and not as something altogether forced upon the government.

As for the alliance between the Liberals and the Nationalists, it is impossible to say when or on what terms it was definitely formed. The Unionists were only too anxious to discover a bargain, and seldom lost an opportunity for saying that one existed, while their opponents as often denied it. There was a good deal of evidence pointing toward it, however. Thus, the Liberals and Nationalists voted together for the Irish Council Bill and the Budget, although the first measure was as obnoxious to many of the Liberals as the second was to the Nationalists. While Irish support of the Parliament Bill was not in itself a sufficient proof, the frequent promises that Home-Rule would be the first measure introduced after its passage indicated that there had been some sort of understanding between the two parties. Such, at least, was the opinion of the Unionists, both at this time and afterwards.

In view of these circumstances, no one was surprised when it was announced in the King's speech in February, 1912, that the Liberals intended to bring in a Home-Rule bill that session. Together with the fact that nothing was said about the reconstruction of the House of Lords, which had been virtually promised before the Parliament Act was passed, this statement thoroughly aroused the Opposition. The Unionists accused the Liberals of taking advantage of a temporarily paralyzed upper chamber to push Home-Rule through, without submitting it to the people. In reply, the Liberals insisted that nothing was to be gained by reconstructing the House of Lords then, since the displacement arising later from Home-Rule would throw out the whole scheme and necessitate further reconstruction. It was argued again that Home-Rule was really a part of any systematic change, and, finally, that the Liberals were bound to begin with this measure, because they had promised in the last election that they would do so, as soon as the Parliament Bill should become law.

The third Home-Rule bill, which was introduced in April, 1912, differs from the other two to some extent in its terms, but particularly in principle; for like the proposals of the Irish Reform Association, and like the Irish Council Bill of 1907, though to a greater extent, it pretends to be an attempt to relieve an over-worked parliament by devolution. The Liberals declare that

Home-Rule for Ireland is but one step in a "larger and more comprehensive policy," by which all the different parts of the United Kingdom are to be given self-government in the affairs which affect only themselves. Thus, after Ireland is made self-governing, there will also be parliaments in Scotland, in Wales, and in England itself, which will take care of the concerns of these countries, leaving matters of imperial importance in the hands of the parliament at Westminster, which will, by this means, be made more efficient. While the agitation has been almost entirely confined to the one country, the Liberals seem to expect that it will spread to the others, as it appears to have done already in the case of Scotland. Even if they are no more sincere in this than the Unionists give them credit for being, it is significant that Home-Rule has appeared as a part of an empire-wide scheme.

Turning to the Bill itself, we find it somewhat complicated. The general plan is much like that of the earlier Bills,—*i. e.*, there is to be an Irish parliament, but a parliament subject to the overruling supremacy of the imperial parliament, to which, in the case of the present Bill, forty-two Irish members will be returned. This supremacy of the imperial parliament is asserted at the beginning. "The supreme power and authority," the text reads, "of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things within His Majesty's dominions." To secure this supremacy, three safeguards are provided later in the Bill: in the first place, the imperial parliament reserves the right to pass laws for Ireland just as for any other part of the Kingdom; in the second place, it can alter or make void acts passed by the parliament at Dublin; and finally, the Lord Lieutenant is given the power to veto or postpone the operation of any Irish act.

While the Irish parliament, subject to these three checks, "shall have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland," it is by no means to control all affairs relating to that country. Besides the usual prerogatives of a sovereign, the imperial parliament is to have control of certain other matters, known as "reserved services." Some of these "services,"—the management of the land-purchase acts, the collection of all taxes, imperial or Irish, and the care of public loans,—are to be permanently reserved. Others, such as the control of old age pensions, national insurance, and postoffice savings banks, may be

turned over to the Irish parliament after a specified time, which varies with the different services from one to ten years. Special provision is made for the constabulary, which shall become an Irish service after six years. The Bill furthermore forbids the establishment of any religion in Ireland.

The parliament, which is to legislate for Ireland under these limitations, is to be made up of two chambers: the Senate and the House of Commons. The Upper House will have forty members, serving for eight years, and retiring in rotation; but instead of being elected, as the former Bills provided, they are to be nominated,—in the first instance by the king, and thereafter by the Irish Ministers, both speaking through the Lord Lieutenant. In the House of Commons, on the other hand, there are to be one hundred and sixty-four members, distributed by a new schedule and elected by the regular parliamentary electors, unless the qualifications are changed by the Irish parliament, as they may be after three years. All money bills are to originate in the House of Commons, and the Senate, like the Imperial House of Lords, may neither reject nor amend such bills. In case the Senate rejects any other bill in two successive sessions, the two chambers are to sit together and vote as one body.

As for the executive authority, it is to be vested, as far as the Irish services are concerned, in the Lord Lieutenant, who is to be appointed by the king, regardless of religious belief, for a term of six years, but "without prejudice to the power of His Majesty at any time to revoke the appointment." Under him are to be the Irish Departments, whose heads are to be the Irish Ministers, or "Executive Committee of the Privy Council of Ireland," as they are called in the Bill. As for the reserved services and other matters remaining within the province of the imperial parliament, the authority is to rest with the king, as at present.

By far the most complicated part of the Bill is that devoted to finance. The reason for this is largely because the government of Ireland is being carried on at a loss, the present annual deficit being something like £150,000. Disregarding the less important details, including those dealing with customs duties, the general plan outlined in the Bill is as follows: All taxes, by whichever parliament they are levied, are to be paid into the imperial exchequer, from which the reserved services will be paid for and a certain amount given to an Irish exchequer every year for the

support of the Irish services. This "Transferred Sum," as it is called, includes (1) an amount equal to the present cost of the Irish services, (2) an additional £500,000 (later to be reduced to £200,000), and (3) an amount equal to the taxes imposed by the Irish parliament. If the Irish government wish to increase this Transferred Sum, they have only to raise the rate of an existing tax, Irish or Imperial, or to impose a new one, in which case the addition will count as an Irish tax, and thus be included in the Transferred Sum; on the other hand, if they wish to reduce or remove a tax, the Transferred Sum will be reduced proportionately. The management of the whole financial system is left to a joint exchequer board, consisting of two members from the Imperial and two members from the Irish Treasury, with a chairman appointed by the king.

In general, the constituencies which the Liberals and Nationalists represented seemed to look upon the Bill as the best measure possible under the circumstances. There was, however, more or less discontent with certain provisions,—notably, the nomination of the senators and the financial arrangements. This first objection was settled later when the Bill was altered so as to make the senators elective after five years, but the open dissatisfaction with the financial provisions availed nothing. The Irish felt that they should be allowed to collect their own taxes, and that they should be given control of all services relating exclusively to Ireland, particularly the postoffice and the more vital matter of land purchase. As a whole, however, the Bill was received with enthusiasm, and was accepted by a convention of the Irish people called for the purpose.

The Unionists, on the other hand, fell upon the Bill as soon as it was introduced, and proceeded to find fault with it: partly because of the particular terms of the Bill, and partly because of their hostility to the whole principle of Home-Rule,—an hostility which they based largely on the resistance of Ulster. They left scarcely one provision uncondemned. The supremacy of the imperial parliament was dismissed as a "dead letter;" the safeguards, if used, they said, would only serve to bring about a situation similar to that before the union; should the Lord Lieutenant exercise his veto, the Irish government would have to resign, only to be returned again at the general elections. They further attacked the powers of legislation given to the Irish parliament; in

the first place, because they were defined "not by enumeration, but by restriction," and, in the second place, because they seemed to have been chosen arbitrarily, without any consistent basis of division. This last objection applied equally well to the powers of the executive. It was pointed out, for example, that while land purchase was a reserved service, rent was to be fixed by the Irish government. The financial arrangements were especially disliked. The plan by which the king was to appoint the chairman of the Joint Exchequer Board was called both unconstitutional and unfair; the £500,000 included in the Transferred Sum as a "free gift to the Irish people" was taken to mean higher taxes for the British public; and the lesser details were vigorously attacked. Altogether, the Unionists looked upon the Bill as an arbitrary and unworkable compromise between the Liberals and the Nationalists.

The question of Ulster was really of wider significance. The people who live in this part of Ireland are largely descended from the old Scotch covenanters, and are strongly Protestant. Although in Ireland, as a whole, there are four times as many Catholics as Protestants, in some districts of Ulster there are four times as many Protestants as Catholics,—a situation which has greatly aggravated the intense religious intolerance for which Ireland has always been noted. Moreover, the economic history of Ulster, also, has been such as to cut her off from the rest of the island. This is the only part of Ireland where industry has been profitable. Whether it is the result of the natural ability of the people, as the Unionists like to think, or of the partiality of parliament in giving special commercial privileges, as the Nationalists insist, certainly the less fortunate districts have had cause for jealousy.

However, this may be, the people of Ulster are, and have been for many years, as violently opposed to Home-Rule as the rest of the Irish have been eager for it. Not only do they fear Catholic ascendancy—"Rome rule," as they say,—but they prophesy that the economic needs of the north and south are so different, and often so contradictory that the minority in Ulster would surely suffer at the hands of their southern rivals. So strong has the feeling been that the members of parliament who sit for Ulster have not only been constantly fighting the introduction of a Home-Rule Bill, but have, when such a step has seemed imminent,

used threats of armed resistance. As early as 1911 plans were made for a provisional government in Ulster in case the union were "disrupted," and the opposition increased with the appearance of the bill itself. Both English and Irish Unionists used the situation in Ulster as one of their strongest arguments against Home-Rule. They said, in the first place, that the Liberals were trying to impose upon one-fourth of the population of Ireland a form of government which they neither wanted nor needed, and, in the second place, that the Irish Unionists, by resisting it, were showing a spirit of loyalty to the Empire which the Nationalists had forgotten. The suggestion was made that Ulster be excepted from the provisions of the Government of Ireland Bill, but this plan met with little approval. In view of these considerations, then, the Unionists felt that the position of Ulster was a decisive argument against the Bill.

All this opposition, however, has been unavailing up to the present time and seems likely to be so in the future. The Bill passed the House of Commons in January, 1913, by a safe majority, and was sent to the Lords, who refused to pass it, as had been expected. Here the provisions of the Parliament Act step in to save the situation for the Irish, for if the Bill passes the Commons in the next two sessions, the veto of the Lords will become ineffective, and it will be enacted without their consent. The present situation would seem to indicate that events will take this course. The opposition of Ulster, in Ireland, and of the Unionists and conservative people generally, in England, seems to be over-balanced by the enthusiastic support of the rest of the Irish, who have won the sympathy of the world in their struggle for freedom, of the Liberals and progressive people, and also, as far as can be judged, of the common people in England. Unless a general election should put the Unionists in power, as is unlikely, the Liberals will doubtless bring the Bill up in 1913 and 1914 until it becomes law.

Whether or not the Government of Ireland Bill, if passed, will solve the Irish question, one may not say now. The important thing to be noted is that the Irish are to be given their first opportunity to work out, as a nation, their own problems of government. Before England took matters into her own hands, when the Irish still had some political power, they were not united by any sense of nationality as they are now, while, on the

other hand, since they have been thus united, the people, as a whole, have never been given a fair trial in self-government. That the Bill has shortcomings is to be expected, inasmuch as it had to be a compromise on many points. The Irish, however, are willing to overlook the defects, satisfied if their efforts of two centuries are rewarded. The Irish question is too long-standing and too complex to be solved in a day; there are likely to be some aspects of it that have escaped notice, and others that have been misinterpreted; all we can ask is that the Irish be given the opportunity for which they have long been asking. It may be that the solution of the Irish question is to be found in Home-Rule, but, on the other hand, this may not be so. The outcome must rest with Ireland herself.

## The Federation of the World

ALFRED HAYES

Professor of Law in Cornell University

Law has been the world's great peacemaker. When man painfully emerges from the life of the jungle, force slowly ceases to be the sole test of right. Men learn to live together in the family and the tribe. Barbaric traits persist; fighting between individuals and groups is still the regular occupation of men, but social customs and rules imposed by those having power gradually supplement primitive violence. Power is cruelly abused, but its advantages are so great that anarchy yields. Private wrongs are no longer privately avenged, but the state through law requires disputants to settle their controversies peaceably. Progress, however, is essential; some organ of change must be present so that the rights of individuals may be adjusted to meet altering social conditions. From this comes the whole development of parliamentary institutions, limitations on the power and privileges of king or nobles, increased power in the hands of all interested parties. Law, enforced when needful by the physical weapons of the sovereign state, makes this development relatively simple. As law-abiding habits develop, the resort to force becomes less essential; the mere existence of the rule of law suffices to regulate the conduct of the great mass of society without their ever being forced to obedience. At the present stage of our civilization no corresponding international development has taken place. It is true that wars have become less frequent, but they are more terrible. Preparation for war is a constant occupation of the great powers, and crushing armaments make armed peace more costly than war in an earlier age.

The horror of war is everywhere recognized, but if the will of the present generation is to be quickened to action it must never be permitted to escape from a vivid realization of what war means. In the nineteenth century there were nearly a score of great wars estimated to have cost nearly 5,000,000 lives and twenty billions of dollars. Our civil war cost nearly a half million lives and five billions of dollars, left the South desolate and put back its educational and economic progress many years. Within the year hundreds of thousands of Christians and Turks

have been slaughtered to the brutalization and degradation of all concerned. In every school in the land there should be a copy of Fritel's painting "The Conquerors,"—Alexander the Great, Caesar, Napoleon,—riding between long lines of the outstretched dead, by whose lives their glory has been bought. The women and children whose husbands and fathers left home never to return are not shown.

"War  
I abhor  
And yet how sweet  
The sound along the marching street  
Of drum and fife! And I forget  
Wet eyes of widows, and forget  
Broken old mothers, and the whole  
Dark butchery without a soul."

Upon those producers who remain, rests the burden of caring for dependents and disabled; they must labor to meet interest charges. Even in the United States nearly three-fourths of all our national expenditure has been directly or indirectly for military purposes. If the hundreds of millions being wasted to wage war and maintain armies and navies were otherwise utilized, how the period for education could be lengthened and educational facilities improved; the minimum wage problem eliminated; pensions for widows, invalids, and aged persons provided; the work-day shortened; the starving fed; art and literature and agricultural and industrial research stimulated; the battle for sanitation and the control of preventable diseases fought; in short, the whole program for social and industrial progress pushed forward with amazing rapidity. It is worth while to labor for peace.

How is the struggle against war to be conducted? What are the lines along which the era of peace is to be ushered in? It will be a long, hard struggle, in which every vulnerable spot should be assailed; the monster war should be repressed, made less brutal, less harmful to neutrals, a claw clipped here and a fang drawn there, but it is a struggle of extermination; war must ultimately be ended and the political brotherhood of man be realized in a federation of the world.

No generation is able to realize what mighty forces are working in it, but we may note certain influences which appear to make for world-peace.

The militaristic class has gradually lost influence and position. Young men of promise no longer look to war as the first career. They seek the more active life open to captains of industry or persons in the public service. Healthy public opinion will accelerate this movement. The people must strive to give the highest responsibility to men of peace; must put in places of leadership men who will understand their duty in influencing the ideals of thousands who look to them for guidance away from jingoism, false patriotism, and narrow antipathies to a sympathetic understanding of alien peoples; who will foster everywhere that feeling of good will which President Butler has called "the international mind."

Lovers of peace will look with favor upon all the agencies which tend to shape public opinion so that war will be distasteful and mutual good feeling natural. Nothing so dispels the prejudices of ignorance as light. Education all over the world brings with it a more intelligent appreciation of the ideas, customs, and purposes of foreign races and nations. Lecturers should be brought in numbers from foreign lands to dispel illusions as to their national life. Foreign travel is to be encouraged. If possible, such travel should be under conditions bringing the traveler into as close touch as possible with the actual life of the people in the lands visited.

The Christian Church has from the beginning sought to realize the brotherhood of the world. Whatever one's religious position may be, there is little doubt that foreign missionaries who go to their work with a true appreciation of the virtues of those to whom they are sent have performed, and are performing, an immense service in creating common world-wide standards of education and morals, as well as destroying the prejudices of ignorance. Who can tell what share in the renaissance of Japan is the part of devoted missionaries, or to what extent Robert College at Constantinople is responsible for the amazing development of Bulgaria.

International agencies are multiplying with great rapidity. The Union of International Associations was formed in 1910 at a congress representing 132 different international leagues, associations, or commissions.

The socialist party is a great political force working for peace. One of its fundamental positions is the unity of the working-class

throughout the world and the harmfulness of war to this class. How powerful is this influence is evident when one considers that there are now about 10,000,000 socialist voters. In the German Empire this is the strongest single party, having more than 4,000,000 voters and the largest number of members (110) in the lower house of the Imperial parliament, constantly on the alert to check militarism. One of these members, elected from the Emperor's own district, Potsdam, has recently made a sensational exposure of the heartless commercialism with which manufacturers of military supplies endeavor to inflame hostility in Germany and France. Last November, when it was feared the Balkan situation might provoke a general European war, there was in Paris a socialist demonstration in opposition to war participated in by 100,000 persons.

What is the duty of friends of peace? To act constantly on the basis that all men are brothers; to strive to reduce the differences between nations; differences in technical proficiency, in economic strength, in ethical ideals, to the end that, when public sentiment has reached the point where it insists that war must cease, conditions will be ripe for the substitution of other modes of action.

Needless wars of passion or pride should be prevented by friendly mediation, or at times intervention. International disputes involving questions which are capable of settlement on the basis of existing law should be determined judicially; precisely as they are between individuals. The splendid results accomplished by the two Hague conferences should be forwarded by the creation of a permanent judicial tribunal to adjudicate between nations. The Hague tribunal, established in 1899, has already passed upon eleven controversies, including the long standing dispute as to fisheries between Great Britain and the United States. These two great English speaking nations are about to complete the period of a hundred years of peace. If these nations can avoid war, with a great frontier between their territories and with keen commercial rivalries, is it too much to hope that wars between great civilized nations will soon be a thing of the past? For more than forty years there has been no war between the great Christian nations of Europe, and it seems improbable that the Franco-German war would have occurred save from the dynastic exigencies of the French Empire.

Winston Churchill, First Lord of the British Admiralty, sug-

gested to the House of Commons on March 26th that the nations construct no more dreadnaughts for a year. If we can get temporary respites from increase of armament, perhaps the Czar's hopes for relief from this burden may soon be realized.

War cannot be abolished by arbitration alone. The great fact of history is change. Law proceeds upon the assumption that the present status is just. There must, therefore, be some organ which will permit of international progress, where a hard and fast adherence to existing national rights would preclude progress. As races and nations change in size and strength, provisions as to immigration and commercial and territorial rights must be modified or war is inevitable. The final goal is a parliament of the world, founded upon a true international democracy, knowing no prejudices of race, religion or social position, in which the affairs of the world may be directed in the spirit of wisdom and justice. The lovers of peace may see a vision of a world from which war and its horrors are banished and in which the brotherhood of man is fact.



## BOOK REVIEWS

**GREEK IMPERIALISM.** By William Scott Ferguson. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913,—xiv, 258 pp.

The Greek cities, separated from one another geographically by mountain barriers and socially and religiously by differences of ancestry and worship, were unfitted by their nature and origin for union and consolidation into one large territorial state. They remained isolated city-states. In each the citizens were regarded as one large family sprung from a common ancestor to whom they paid divine honors, and they were therefore bound together by strong natural ties, those of kinship and religion. In proportion as this close relationship marked them as one people, it kept them apart from other city-states with different ancestors and a different worship. In such unfavorable soil it was with the utmost difficulty that the seeds of empire took root and grew. Nevertheless Sparta and Athens did establish empires, disguised though these were in their beginnings as leagues or federations of states joined together by treaties of alliance. The purpose in the formation of the Delian Confederacy, under Athenian leadership, became a pretext for its continuance after all fear of the Persians had vanished, and the sovereign state, Athens, used force when necessary to subdue the recalcitrant among the so-called allies. However objectionable to a city the overlordship of Athens or Sparta might be, far more hateful was the civil strife between the oligarchs and democrats with its attendant bloodshed that followed any attempt to throw off the yoke; submission to an imperial power was better than intestine war.

When in the course of time both empires fell, the city-states were again free, though robbed of their vitality. Then Macedon stepped in, and by diplomacy and conquest brought all Greece into subjection. Alexander the Great united the city-states in one great territorial state—a marvelous achievement. He did it by requiring them to recognize him as a god. With this in mind, seven years before he had marched through the Sahara to the remote oracle of the Egyptian Ammon in order that he might be greeted by the priests as the son of Zeus. Now as a god he had the right to command, and the city-states in obeying their own

deity were not obeying the commands of a foreigner. The Ptolemies and Seleucids likewise posed as god-kings. "Deification of rulers did the impossible: it reconciled completely the antinomy between city-state and imperialism."

In "Greek Imperialism" Professor Ferguson has given to the public his Lowell lectures of last February. The book is scholarly, well written, and full of interest. In the empires of Sparta, Athens, Alexander, the Ptolemies, Seleucids, and Antigonids, which he passes successively in review, he shows that there was a continuous constitutional development from the city-state in its earliest form to the territorial state as we find it in the Aetolian or the Achaean League, "the most perfect state which antiquity produced." Such leagues or federations of city-states with equal rights the Greeks formed in the third century when they at length fully realized the necessity for union and concerted action for the defense of their liberties. Thus the deification of rulers, and these federal unions, together effected the transformation of city-states into territorial states.

CHARLES W. PEPPLER.

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**THE REPUBLIC. A Little Book of Homespun Verse.** By Madison Cawein. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company, 1913,—98 pp.

While the South is busy scolding Brander Matthews and other critics for failure to give her nineteenth-century writers due recognition, I find it rather strange that she does not turn her attention for a moment to the present day and advance the claim—a very reasonable claim—that Madison Cawein, of Kentucky, is the best American poet now living. I make this remark apropos of the fact that Mr. Cawein's new collection, "The Republic, A Little Book of Homespun Verse", has just been published.

As "The Republic" contains but ninety-eight pages, it is a much more slender volume than we are accustomed to expect from Mr. Cawein. It is, however, large enough and comprehensive enough to include most of the well-known Cawein moods. Here, as in past collections, we find richly imaged nature poems, melodious lyrics, well-drawn sketches of various Kentucky types, and simple (and sometimes rather commonplace) poems of homely life.

The title poem, "The Republic", is an irregular patriotic ode in nine parts. It is not a strikingly original piece, either in matter

or in manner. When Mr. Cawein gravely tells us that what we Americans need is more art and less haste, he is telling us something that has been painfully obvious to all thinking people for goodness knows how long. But, after all, there is no great harm in repeating proverbs, when one can do it as musically, eloquently, and impressively as Mr. Cawein does it here. "The Republic" is undoubtedly one of the best American odes that has appeared since Lowell's "Commemoration" ode.

A number of other poems in the new Cawein volume are worthy of special mention. "Mirage", a bit of tragedy, is one of the most powerful things Mr. Cawein has ever done. "The Call of April" is a delightful lyric with an irresistibly winsome refrain. "The Menace" is a tremendous picture of that unspeakable crime which makes the race problem such a serious one in the South. "Kentucky", an occasional poem, is a beautiful tribute to the author's native state. And "Corncob Jones" is a droll, very life-like piece in a James Whitecomb Riley vein.

"The Republic" may not add appreciably to Mr. Cawein's reputation, but at any rate it should go far toward disproving the theory that his work is seriously declining.

H. HOUSTON PECKHAM.

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**THE CITY CHURCH AND ITS SOCIAL MISSION.** A Series of Studies in the Social Extension of the City Church. By A. M. Trawick, Secretary Student Department International Y. M. C. A. Association Press: New York and London, 1913,—viii, 166 pp.

The nature and scope of this book is well indicated in the title and sub-title. In a series of six studies the author discusses, with considerable detail, the following topics: The City Church and Family Life; The City Church and Public Care of Children; The City Church and the Problem of Charity; The City Church and the Labor Problem; The City Church and Social Vice; The City Church and Other Religious Agencies.

The author does not undertake to prove that the church has a social mission. He points out the most striking social evils of the cities and indicates how the churches may work towards the amelioration or removal of these evils. The fact that the evils are there and that the church is an organized social body, animated by religious motives, is a sufficient call to the duty of doing something.

Mr. Trawick does not lose sight of the primary purpose of Christianity in its central mission to the spiritual nature of men. For example, in treating the question of social vice he fully recognizes the necessity for the spiritual regeneration of the individual sinner, but at the same time he indicates how traffic in virtue may be restricted and the conditions of temptation reduced, if not removed. It is difficult to see why prevention of vice is not quite as spiritual a mission as the rescue of the lost. In discussing the complex question of poverty, the author does not discredit the superior motive of the church in dispensing charity but suggests that the scientific study of the causes and conditions of poverty may lead to measures that will help to reduce the causes. In each study the first thing insisted on is a thorough investigation of the facts. The lack of knowledge of real conditions is the chief cause of inactivity or apathy upon the part of church people. Secure rational investigation of local conditions, and the facts elicited will stimulate sympathy and a sense of obligation.

The book is free from extreme statements, and most of the suggestions and methods of study and work are practicable, though there are some that have a rather wide range, involving questions which can be settled only by legislative action and a larger public opinion than the individual church can control. Taken as a whole, the volume is an excellent text book for pastors and church workers and can be useful to any person interested in the great social and moral problems of the cities. Each study is supplemented by a "reading list" and series of fifteen or twenty questions on the text. The book closes with a fairly complete bibliography. These features make the volume especially serviceable in the hands of organized classes who are in training for special work along social lines.

FRANKLIN N. PARKER.

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ALMS FOR OBLIVION. By Pegram Dargan. Printed for the author by L. Graham Co., Ltd., New Orleans, 1913.—372 pp.

In "Alms for Oblivion," a volume of satiric poetry, there are some commendable features. For example, there is evidenced here by the author a brisk, emphatic, spirited way of expressing his likes and dislikes; an intense loyalty to his country (or rather

a certain section of his country); and a wide reading along lines historic and literary. Mr. Dargan's extensive reading is shown by the fact that he alludes to such widely different personages as Homer, Pope, Mrs. Pankhurst, E. H. Sothern, Carrie Nation, Jacob A. Riis, and bumpitious Ben Butler.

As poetry, and as an expression of true Southern sentiment, "Alms for Oblivion" is not a success; but as a striking combination of balderdash, vulgarity, and blasphemy, it can scarcely be surpassed. Mr. Dargan must have obtained his ideas of refinement from such writers as Aristophanes, Chaucer, and some of the Restoration poets and dramatists; but the delicious humor of Aristophanes and Chaucer, and the polish of such Restoration authors as Butler and Dryden and Congreve, is sadly lacking in his work.

Of the external form of "Alms for Oblivion," be it said that its metres amble along with the gracefulness of a Vulcan or a Lord Dorincourt, and that its most characteristic rimes would make Mrs. Browning blush in her most careless moments. Here are a few of Mr. Dargan's iambic pentameters:

"She claimed, and still the like she claimed."  
 "No 'good night', for thee or for Marmion."  
 "As his by edict ordered never to be spoken."  
 "The market's doubtful and dull the season."

And here are a few sample rimes: "book-Hook (ham)", "landed-planned it", "uncivil-devil", "sucks-pukes", "draughts-halves", "scratch-itch", "sicken-bacon", "eager-nigger". However, part of these crudities may be pardoned, since Mr. Dargan is apparently trying to ape the whimsicalities of Samuel Butler and other burlesque poets.

Mr. Dargan did a wise and considerate thing when he bestowed his "Alms" upon Oblivion. Fame will never be disposed to quarrel with Oblivion for possession of the gift, and, moreover, the gift can do Oblivion no harm.

H. HOUSTON PECKHAM.

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THE RELATIONS OF LATIN AND ENGLISH DURING THE AGE OF MILTON. By Weldon T. Myers. Ruebush-Elkins Company, Dayton, Virginia,— 166 pp.

This study combines in convenient compass some important facts presented in a pleasant style of writing too frequently neg-

lected by authors of dissertations. It does not, however, make any material addition to the student's knowledge of the subject. The conclusions reached are very general and have previously been stated in fairly accessible works which are considered authoritative. Further research might confirm, or possibly correct, these by a minute examination of the great body of Latin literature produced in the seventeenth century. Dr. Myers, howeves, makes no such examination; he is usually content candidly to adopt the utterances of previous commentators. In section I, chapter III, for example, the use of Latin in stage performances at the universities before the Restoration is illustrated by only six examples, concerning which the information offered is based on references to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Ward's *History of the English Drama*, Masson's *Life of Milton*, and H. C. Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*. Referring to conditions after the Restoration, the author adds that "both English and Latin plays returned in full force to the academic stage," and cites as authority the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. The prevalence of this second-hand method throughout is indicated by the scarcity of original material included in the bibliography and by the presence of about one hundred and twenty references to Masson's *Life of Milton*.

Dr. Myers has given us a practical resumé but has made no distinct contribution to scholarship.

C. A. MOORE.

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**ESTHER WAKE, OR THE SPIRIT OF THE REGULATORS.** A play in four acts.

By A. Vermont. Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1913.—74 pp.

The four act play "Esther Wake, or The Spirit of the Regulators," was written by Mr. A. Vermont, Superintendent of the Smithfield schools, for the Summer School Dramatic Club of the University of North Carolina, and it was performed by the club on the university campus in July, 1912. At this performance the play was received quite favorably. Such an attempt to utilize the colonial history of the state is noteworthy. Mr. Vermont deserves the thanks of us all for this sort of pioneer work in a field of writing little essayed in our section of the country. With proper encouragement and support he may achieve success, as he

will no doubt profit from the opportunity of seeing his play performed under such favorable circumstances.

We have not the space here to discuss the play at length either from the standpoint of its historical background or of its technical or artistic merits. Judged from either of these standpoints, it does not deserve great praise. It certainly does not correctly represent the "spirit of the Regulators;" it confuses that spirit with the moving spirit of the Revolution. Pugh is quite evidently not a Regulator, but rather the type of North Carolinian who, siding with Tryon against the Regulation, later became the promoter of the Revolution. The shameful treatment accorded the messengers of Tryon by the Regulators just before the battle of Alamance is passed over without mention, while the Governor is made to murder a messenger of the Americans before the battle. Besides, both in diction and style the author fails to effect the illusion desired. For example, the frequent use of the word *fiancé* and its feminine form jars painfully on one's sense of the fitness of things. Such a reference as that on page 29 to Yale University is disastrous.

In plot the play is not lacking in interest; the story holds one's attention, though its conclusion is not satisfying. Also it is so thought out as to provide for dramatic possibilities. But, as a play, it is poorly constructed. There is a most evident lack of skilful motivation. For example, how did Pugh happen to be just at the river during the storm when Esther needed to be rescued? And, technically considered, Pugh is the hero of the play, since it is he rather than Esther who is the moving spirit of it.

The book is neatly printed and bound. A few misprints occur. The punctuation, however, is very bad.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Volume XIII.  
Edited by Franklin L. Riley, University, Mississippi, 1913.—326 pp.

The Mississippi Historical Society has for many years been a leader in the intensive study of state history. The present volume marks the continuance of the unique undertaking begun in volume X, the study of the reconstruction period in Mississippi by counties. The counties treated are Panola and Oktibbeha, in which the negro population was greater than the white, and La-

fayette and Scott in which the whites had a majority. The essays are the results of investigations at the University of Mississippi under the direction of Professor Franklin L. Riley. Uniform treatment is followed. After an introductory survey of resources and *ante bellum* history, sections are devoted in each essay to party and party principles, party leaders, political and semi-political organizations, county government, the judiciary, campaign and election methods, social conditions, religious affairs, economic changes, labor, taxation, education, bibliography, and statistics.

Such studies have a general as well as a local value. They convey an impression of the reconstruction process at short range, show how conditions varied in different parts of the same state, clarify the perplexing question of local taxation and county debts, and give concrete illustrations of economic and social transformations. If similar studies of typical counties in other states could be made, there would be a basis for a regional or cross sectional survey of reconstruction, which alone will give a satisfactory solution to the many political, economic, and social problems of the period.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

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HISTORY OF THE CHEMICAL BANK, 1823-1913. Privately printed. New York, 1913,—xiv, 167 pp.

The Chemical National Bank of New York is one of the most famous and successful financial institutions of the country. This history recounts from an inside point of view the facts of its long and extremely solvent career. Its solvency makes a deep impression when one reads that its stock of \$100 par value sold for \$4900 a share in 1895. The dividend rate was then 150 per cent a year. In 1907 the capital stock was increased from \$300,000 to \$3,000,000 by dividend from the surplus, giving each shareholder ten shares instead of each one share previously held.

The first part of the volume is devoted to a history of the bank's career in its relation to the financial history of the country, and especially to its honorable record in the financial storms of 1837, 1857, and 1873, as well as in the Civil War. There are sketches of the men who made the Chemical Bank in the second part of

the volume, and a third part takes up the various homes and surroundings of the institution.

The work has been tastefully printed for the bank by Doubleday, Page and Company. It is profusely illustrated with both half tones and line cuts of scenes, men, and documents of significance in the history of the institution. Some of the most interesting pictures are the early scenes in New York, taken from the archives of the bank. Also there are pictures of some of the bank's early currency, checks and certificates of deposit.

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**AFRICAN CAMP FIRES.** By Stewart Edward White. Illustrated from photographs. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1913,—xiii, 378 pp., \$1.50 net.

Mr. White's two trips to Africa have thus far resulted in the publication of "In the Land of Footprints" and "African Camp Fires." Both of these volumes are largely devoted to adventures in big game hunting vividly related. Fortunately they contain much more. After reading exactly how lion after lion—not to speak of lesser beasts—succumbed to the author's prowess, there comes a time when the reader has a surfeit of animal killing. At this point chapters on the peoples of Africa, the customs, travel adventures, and the many beauties of nature, afford a welcome variety.

"African Camp Fires" possesses great charm and value as a travel book by a skilled observer and delightful writer. The narrative is supplemented by many excellent reproductions from photographs. A vein of humor runs through the volume and is never long lost from sight. Occasionally Mr. White uncovers a pay streak of exceptional richness. His keen observation of the customs and social organization of the native races is best illustrated in the "Notes on the Masai." Vegetarians will be surprised to learn that the Masai live almost exclusively on "mixed cow's blood and milk—no fruits, no vegetables, no grains, rarely flesh." Yet among the southern branch of the race "men close to seven feet in height are not at all uncommon, and the average is well above six." They are a brown people of imposing and pleasing physical appearance; they perform no agriculture whatever; the task of caring for their immense herds of cattle is as-

signed to the boys and the youths. "Therefore the grown men are absolutely and completely gentlemen of leisure. In civilization, the less men do the more important they are inclined to think themselves. It is so here. Socially the Masai consider themselves several cuts above anybody in the country. As social superiority lies mostly in thinking so hard enough—so that the inner belief expresses itself in the outward attitude and manner—the Masai carry it off. Their haughtiness is magnificent. Also they can look as unsmiling and bored as anybody anywhere. Consequently they are either greatly admired; or greatly hated and feared, as the case happens to be, by all the other tribes." Mr. White, however, points out that no matter how arrogantly the Masai bear themselves toward the surrounding tribes, they show a great shrewdness in keeping on good terms with the English whose strength they have seen demonstrated in wars with neighboring peoples.

W. H. G.

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**REVERIES IN RHYME.** By Hersey Everett Spence. Durham, North Carolina: Durham Book and Stationery Company, 1913,—120 pp. \$1.00.

This volume comprises sixty-seven short poems, grouped under the headings, *Poems of Childhood and Country Life*, *Songs of the Seasons*, *Love Lyrics*, *Odds and Ends*. Most of the poems have appeared in various magazines and newspapers. Although the volume is not large, the bulk of the work is considerable for a poet yet so young, and the book makes a very attractive appearance.

As might be expected in the work of a comparatively young writer, the technique is very unequal throughout the collection, and along with quite satisfactory stanzas one finds lines and whole stanzas which are halting in movement and crude in form; but the writer is pleasingly naive, and he often attains ease and facility worthy of a poet of much more experience.

In the somewhat wide range of subjects handled in the book Mr. Spence has shown himself a close and sympathetic observer of human nature and of external nature, and although some of the poems give the impression of having been written without any purpose other than that of mere practice, the poet often depicts

the primal moods and passions of mankind with pleasing fidelity. Especially is this true in some of his poems which deal with childhood, such as "The Old Pear Tree," "The Old Hobby," "Paper Folks," "The Red Stick of Candy," and "The Land of Make-Believe," and in those which portray the elements of negro character, such as "De Onliest Chune," "De Fust Sin." The last two illustrate the poet's successful handling of the negro dialect.

While Mr. Spence has not yet shown himself impressed with any great purpose in his work, he has handled astutely the artificialities and excrescences of modern society in a humorous way and in a fine spirit of playfulness, generally the most effective manner; the buoyant, hopeful spirit and the healthy optimism pervading all his work make his poems pleasing and refreshing reading.

F. C. BROWN.

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THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE BAPTISTS AND FIFTH MONARCHY MEN IN ENGLAND DURING THE INTERREGNUM. By Louise Fargo Brown. Washington: American Historical Association. London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1912,—xi., 258 pp. \$1.50.

In this monograph, which was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize in European History for 1911 by the American Historical Association, the author has undertaken the somewhat difficult task of ascertaining the part played in British politics in this troublous period by the parties named in the title. She insists at the outset that, while Fifth Monarchy Men were recruited from the Baptists to a larger extent than from any other sect, nevertheless, the two parties are distinct and ought not to be confused with each other, as some less careful writers have done in the past. The English Baptists, the author traces to their well known beginnings in the early part of the seventeenth century as an offshoot of the English Separatist churches in Holland. The Fifth Monarchy Men, she maintains, were members of various dissenting churches, with which they might continue to affiliate after they had joined this party. The chief point in the creed of this party seems to have rested on a peculiar interpretation of certain passages in the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse. It was alleged that, according to these prophecies, three of the monarchies of the world, the Assyrian, Persian, and Greek, had

already passed into history. The fourth, the Roman, was rapidly passing, as was indicated by the troubles in England and on the Continent. The time was, therefore, close at hand when Christ should come to inaugurate the fifth monarchy of the millennium. Holding these views, the Fifth Monarchy Men naturally looked upon Cromwell as a usurper and gave him much trouble. After his death they were instrumental in securing the recall of the rump of the Long Parliament and thus, unwittingly, in promoting the return of the Stuart monarchy.

The author has conned with remarkable patience the voluminous pages of Thurloe and the contemporary pamphlets. Since her material was largely of this character, however, it was all the more difficult to use, and one is not always convinced beyond doubt or peradventure of the truth of some of the statements which she makes as facts. Nevertheless, the author illuminates many obscure points, and her monograph is not the least meritorious volume in the series in which it is published.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

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**THE DOMINIE OF HARLEM.** By Arnold Mulder. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1913,—385 pp. \$1.25 net.

In his novel, "The Dominie of Harlem," Arnold Mulder goes to fresh woods and pastures new for his material. He takes us to the Dutch section of western Michigan, a region hitherto unexplored by the writer of fiction.

"The Dominie of Harlem" is a gripping tale of the conflict between the old and the new, the war between fogyism and modern progress. Dominie Van Weelen, a young clergyman with university training, high ideals, and abundant enthusiasm, comes to minister to a rural community where a Dutch God is worshipped, and where the favorite reading is Dutch polemic theology. To teach the people of this community that altruism and rational, sanitary living are as important as orthodoxy in the faith—to redeem, in short, "the slums of the country"—is the task to which the young preacher devotes himself. He finds an admirable helpmate in the person of Nellie Harmdyk, a beautiful girl born and reared in this quaint community, but broadened by a college education. The plot is greatly strengthened by the fact

that no member of the community is more fogyish or more obstinate in his fogyism than Nellie's father, Jan Harmdyk.

"The Dominie of Harlem" deserves notable success; for it is a remarkable tale, uncommonly well told. It is replete with Dutch atmosphere, but at no time does the dialect become cloying or unintelligible.

H. HOUSTON PECKHAM.

## NOTES AND NEWS

There has lately come from the press a striking poem, "At Lexington," written by Professor Benjamin Sledd of Wake Forest College and selected from a forthcoming volume which is to be entitled "Old South Idylls." The same writer had already published "From Cliff and Scaur" in 1897, "The Watchers of the Hearth" in 1901, and "How Freedom Came" in 1910. Professor Sledd is not only a poet but he has been the maker of poets. It was under his guiding and inspiring hand that John Charles McNeill took shape and also other less well known but promising poets. "At Lexington" is inspired by Professor Sledd's boyhood recollections of Lexington and Washington and Lee University, and the great name of Robert E. Lee. The poem, however, does not have to do wholly with the past. It closes with a vision of the future final triumph of the South. It is appropriately dedicated to Mr. Clarence Poe, editor of the Progressive Farmer and a young North Carolinian who is rendering the truest service to his generation.

The Library of Congress has recently published a "Select List References on the Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States," a "Select List of References on the Monetary Question," and a "Select List of References on the Federal Control of Commerce and Corporations." These valuable bibliographies are for sale at 15 cents, 25 cents, and 15 cents respectively. They are available for free distribution to libraries but are sold to the general public. Postal orders and drafts should be made payable to the Superintendent of Documents, and, like all other remittances, should be made in advance and sent direct to him at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Among the forces striving for the improvement of rural life in the South is the Woman's Auxiliary of the Southern Commercial Congress with headquarters at Montgomery, Alabama. This body has recently issued an interesting circular setting forth its program which includes: (1) the raising of the standards of domestic economy, (2) community improvement in such matters as

good roads, sanitation, and development of local industries, (3) the increase and bettering of educational facilities, with special attention to local taxation for schools, (4) the enriching and brightening of the social life of the country districts. Many leading Southern women have enrolled themselves for participation in this highly important constructive work. Mrs. Woodrow Wilson has consented to become Honorary President-General of the organization, Mrs. Thomas M. Owen is President-General, and Mrs. William E. Martin, Secretary.

"The Knapp Method of Growing Cotton," just published by Doubleday, Page and Company, is dedicated by the authors to the memory of the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp who founded the Farmers' Co-operative Demonstration Work, an organization which includes thousands of the most successful cotton growers. The yield per acre by the Knapp method is twice as great as that secured by the older methods of cotton growing. H. E. Savelly and W. B. Mercier, the authors, are both government experts in the United States Department of Agriculture. \$1.00 net.

Doubleday, Page and Company have recently published "Refractory Husbands," a volume of stories by Mary Stewart Cutting. Here are exhibited husbands of different moulds; genial, stern, handsome, plain, but all refractory. The stubborn and conceited breed are in this book treated by Mrs. Cutting with all the humanity, humor and charm which characterize "Little Stories of Married Life," "Little Stories of Courtship," etc. \$1.00 net.

The Houghton, Mifflin Company have published a volume entitled "Young Working Girls" by Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, with an introduction by Jane Addams. This comprises a summary of evidence on this subject obtained from two thousand social workers. While the object of the inquiry was "to secure the facts about the adolescent girl rather than to develop a well-knit and adequate system for meeting them," the work does not lack constructive suggestions. An appendix contains the comprehensive schedule of questions asked in preparing the book. \$1.00 net.

Honorable James Boyle, formerly consul of the United States at Liverpool, has written an interesting volume on the problems of the "Minimum Wage and Syndicalism." He brings together material on these subjects from the United States, England, Continental Europe, Australia, and New Zealand. Stewart and Kidd Company, Cincinnati publish the book at \$1.00 net.

"Out of the Dark" is a volume of essays, letters, and addresses by Helen Keller. This wonderful blind woman writes of the condition of woman in modern society, the higher education of women, blindness and its prevention, the education of the blind, and other social problems. Miss Keller's point of view is particularly clear and direct, as if a little bit removed from the glare and toil of every day life, which warps the vision of so many who are blessed with perfect sight. Doubleday, Page and Co. \$1.00 net.

The Houghton, Mifflin Company have published "The Making of Modern England" by Gilbert Slater, Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford. The author is a believer in historical study with the object of "gaining light in the future and guidance in the present." On many of the controverted questions discussed, he frankly expresses his own opinions. His able and important book contains a lucid and authoritative account of the economic, industrial, and social forces that shaped the development of England during the nineteenth century. It gives special emphasis to a discussion of the relations of industrial conditions to tariff legislation, to the history of the labor movement, and to the movement for woman suffrage, and makes very clear the causes of the present social and political unrest in England—one of the momentous phenomena of current history. \$2.50 net.

Lawyers and students of government will feel an especial interest in two books published by the Houghton, Mifflin Company during the present year. In "Justice and the Modern Law" (\$1.60 net) Mr. Everett V. Abbott, a member of the New York Bar, considers some of the fundamental problems of the administration of justice in the light of the complex and changing conditions of the present day. With keen insight and wide legal and

practical information, he discusses both general principles of equity and the practical problems of justice as related to such far-reaching and vital matters as the enforcement of the Sherman Act and the independence of the judiciary. In "The Old Law and the New Order" (\$1.25 net) Mr. George W. Alger, the author of "Moral Overstrain," brings his great ability as an investigator to a consideration of the possibility of the adjustment of the old statute law to the changing conditions of modern life. In successive chapters Mr. Alger deals with Executive Aggression, The Courts and Legislative Freedom, Treadmill Justice, The State as Employer, American Discontent with Criminal Law, Criticizing the Courts, The Police Judge and the Public, Punishing Corporations, The Law on Industrial Equality, The Ethics of Production. The reader is impressed by the wide learning and attracted by the clearness and force of statement found in Mr. Alger's excellent essays.

Walter Archer Frost's novel, "The Man Between," just published by Doubleday, Page and Company, is likely to arouse a good deal of interest in the nGaka or Zulu "witch-doctors." The plot of the love story hinges on the baffling influence of one of these medicine men. Into the lives of a group of cultured white residents of Durban comes a tragic mystery, and the loathsome nGaka for a time stands between the girl of the story and the man.















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